Daily Report

Latin America

FBIS-LAT-93-036
Thursay
25 February 1993

Daily Report
Latin America

FBIS-LAT-93-036 25 Ferbruary 1993

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EC, Central American Ministers Sign Agreement *[Managua Radio]* 1
Meeting Concludes *[NOTIMEX]* 1

CARIBBEAN

Cuba

Government Holds National Assembly Elections 2
Castro Says 'A Few Words' *[Havana Radio]* 2
Castro Comments at Polling Station *[Havana Radio, TV]* 4
Alarcon Remarks on Foreign Journalists *[Havana Radio]* 9
Ceremony Marks Beginning of Elections *[Havana Radio]* 10
Early Voter Participation Figures Noted *[Havana TV]* 10
Updated Voting Figures Noted *[Havana Radio]* 10
Polling Station Cites Results *[Havana Radio]* 11

Dominica

European Bank Supports Dominican Investments *[CANA]* 11

Haiti

Cedras Visits Jeremie, Offers Condolences *[Port-au-Prince Radio]* 11

MEXICO

Reportage on Gubernatorial Elections 12
PRI Wins in Quintana Roo *[Mexico City TV]* 12
Results in Hidalgo Reported *[Mexico City TV]* 12
PRI Ahead in Guerrero *[Mexico City TV]* 13
Official on Foreign Trade Figures for 1992 *[Mexico City TV]* 13

CENTRAL AMERICA

El Salvador

Cristiani on Arms Collection, U.S. Economic Program *[LA PRENSA GRAFICA 23 Feb]* 14
'Minisummit' Held With Guatemala, Honduras *[San Salvador TV]* 14
FMLN Satisfied With PNC Security Program *[San Salvador Radio]* 14
Murder Weapon Used Against U.S. Advisers Found *[San Salvador Radio]* 15
Training Program for Former Armed Forces Begins *[San Salvador Radio]* 15

Guatemala

President Says Guerrillas Obstruct Peace Talks *[EL GRAFICO 23 Feb]* 15
Government Minister on Drug Secretariat Headquarters *[SIGLO VEINTIUNO 23 Feb]* 16
Bomb Explosions Destroy Power Pylon *[NOTIMEX]* 16

Nicaragua

Vice President Godoy Speaks Out Against H. Ortega *[Managua Radio]* 16
Gen Ortega Says Army Ready To Fight Armed Groups *[Managua Radio]* 17
Sandinist Death Squads Announce 'Death Sentences' *[Paris LE MONDE 23 Feb]* 17
Foreign Minister Comments on Debt Restructuring *[Managua TV]* 18

SOUTH AMERICA

Argentina

Russian Charge d'Affaires Protests Shooting *[Madrid EFE]* 20
Cooperation Agreement Signed With Germany *[NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS]* 20
Menem Receives German Minister Ruehe *[NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS]* 20
Intervention in Corrientes Legislature Lifted *[NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS]* 20

Bolivia

U.S. Drug Enforcement Aid Viewed *[PRESENCIA 14 Feb]* 21
Document Problem To Keep 900,000 From Voting *[Madrid EFE]* 23

Brazil

President Discusses Anticorruption Measures *[Brasilia Radio]* 23
Planning Minister Rules Out Inflation Package *[Brasilia Radio]* 23
* Simonsen Views Parliamentarism, Major Errors *[VEJA 20 Jan]* 24
* Polls, Debate Focus on Parliamentary Model 27
* Preference for Parliamentarism *[O GLOBO 24 Jan]* 27
* Debate Explores Systems *[FOLHA DE SAO PAULO 24 Jan]* 29
* Disadvantages of Privatization Decree Viewed *[VEJA 27 Jan]* 32
Correction to Ministry To Reorganize Various Councils 34

Chile

Pinochet Remarks on Glacier Region Clarified *[Santiago Radio]* 34

Colombia

Congress Debates Internal Disturbance Status *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 34
Minister Announces Higher Military Budget *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 34
Search Operations for Pablo Escobar Continue *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 35
Interview With Defense Minister Pardo *[Santa Fe de Bogota Radio]* 35
PEPES Burns Another Escober Hacienda *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 37
Report on Changes in Medellin Cartel Hierarchy *[Santa Fe de Bogota TV]* 37
Poll Shows People Want Popular Elections *[Santa Fe de Bogota Radio]* 38

Ecuador

President Recovering After Successful Surgery *[AFP]* 38

Paraguay

Editorial Assails 'Rabid Anti-Colorados' *[PATRIA 23 Feb]* 38
Paciello Discusses 'Civil War' Comments *[ULTIMA HORA 24 Feb]* 39
Editorial Views 'Threat' *[ULTIMA HORA 24 Feb]* 39
U.S. Examination of 'Horror Archives' Viewed *[NOTICIAS 24 Feb]* 40
Ciudad del Este Police Officials Replaced *[NOTICIAS 24 Feb]* 40
Files Say Nazi Martin Bormann Died in Paraguay *[NOTICIAS 24 Feb]* 41

Peru

IMF Assembly Postpones Discussion on Plan *[Lima TV]* 41
'Exclusive' Comments by Abimael Guzman *[SI 8 Feb]* 42

EC, Central American Ministers Sign Agreement

PA2302161993 Managua Radio Nicaragua Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 23 Feb 93

Text] On 22 February, the EC signed a framework agreement with Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras, Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Panama. This begins a new era in the relationship between these countries by broadening and intensifying cooperation on every level, according to Nicaraguan Government officials consulted on the issue.

The framework agreement calls for the intensification of relations between the two groups of countries through forthcoming ministerial meetings dubbed San Jose, according to a Foreign Ministry spokesmen. The agreement replaces a previous agreement ratified in Luxembourg, and its purpose is to improve and enrich cooperation in important areas such as; the consolidation of democracy, socioeconomic integration; support for the return of refugees, repatriates, and displaced people; to strengthen aid in the social, economic, financial, commercial, scientific and environmental areas.

The agreement contemplates the special nature of Central America as a developing region, which implies very favorable terms. The agreement was signed by Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Ernesto Leal Sanchez.

Meeting Concludes

PA2402000893 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 2303 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] San Salvador, 23 Feb (NOTIMEX)—The ministers of Central America and the EC concluded on 23 February the San Jose IX Conference with the signing of agreements based on respect for international law, democracy, and human rights.

In a joint communique signed at the conclusion of the meeting, the Central American ministers "reiterated the commitment of their governments to the principle of participation by the peoples of the region in the democratic processes and respect for human rights." As well as the work by the human rights ombudsmen and courts." [sentence as received]

The agreement stressed that "direct talks between the Guatemalan Government and the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) are essential to reach lasting peace in that Central American country. It also noted the importance of the peace talks and the "initiative by President (Jorge) Serrano" to present his peace proposals to the United Nations." The ministers "praised the decision by the sides to resume direct talks and encouraged them to spare no effort in seeking an overall and lasting agreement in a short period of time."

"The ministers acknowledged that respect for human rights constitutes one of the chief elements of the (Guatemalan peace) talks and gladly welcomed the positive measures adopted by the government. They also commended the work by the Guatemalan human rights ombudsman. They stated that there is "concern over the reports on human rights (in Guatemala) that reveal individual guarantees are still violated, although to a lesser extent."

The document felt the "armed confrontation" is one of the elements that has an adverse influence in the situation in Guatemala, although that is not the sole factor. The ministers called "on both sides to achieve as soon as possible an overall peace agreement, the result of which must lead to a significant reduction in violations."

The communique noted "the progress made in the implementation of the peace agreements in El Salvador, which constitutes a historic step toward the development of that country and the consolidation of peace in the region." "The Salvadoran Government efforts to increase the efficiency of the administration of justice as well as to strengthen the judicial system and democratic institutions" were recognized.

The ministers offered their cooperation "in maintaining the support for the new institutions that emerged from the peace agreements in El Salvador," especially the Human Rights Ombudsman, the National Civilian Police, the Supreme Electoral Tribunal, and the strengthening of the Judicial Branch. The ministers said the progress made in the national reconstruction plan is an important achievement and they stressed the need to support it to assist in the country's reconciliation.

"In the framework of the peace agreements, the ministers were pleased with the integration of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front into the country's political institutions," the communique added. The communique also stressed the importance of the mandate of the "Truth Commission," which was created to investigate the crimes committed in the country during the civil war that lasted nearly 12 years.

The Central American ministers called "on the interested parties in Nicaragua to resolve their problems exclusively through peaceful means and within a legal framework so as to cooperate with the development" of that nation. The document emphasized "the importance of the social plans drafted by the Nicaraguan Government as well as the plans for the disarmament of civilians and clearing of mines, for which it requires international cooperation." The ministers reiterated their "willingness to continue with their efforts for the rehabilitation, reconstruction, and development of Nicaragua."

Expressions of censorship for the violation of human rights and of support for the area's peace process were made by the Central American and European ministers at the San Jose IX meeting on 23 February.

Cuba

Government Holds National Assembly Elections

Castro Says 'A Few Words'

FL2402141893 Havana Radio and Television Networks in Spanish 0046 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Speech by President Fidel Castro at the Moncada Barracks in Santiago de Cuba—live]

[Text] Young people and compatriots from Santiago de Cuba: [applause] I thought the election campaign had ended. [crowd shouts: "No!"] When I got here now, I found that they were asking me to say a few words, [crowd shouts: "Yes!"] after the many speeches that have been made during these days. [crowd shouts: "That does not matter!"] My words will have to be brief in order not to take television time away from the other comrades in the rest of the country. [crowd shouts: "No!"] The people of Santiago cannot take over all the television time and press space. It must be shared with the rest of the country.

To my mind comes the idea of what that 23 February 1895 must have been like, at this same time of day. I imagine the feverish work of our compatriots, the vibrant spirit, the emotions and tensions of the eve of the start of our second war for independence. Jose Marti had given the order in the name of the Cuban Revolutionary Party, in coordination with Maximo Gomez, the commanding general of the liberating army. Guillermon Moncada, the leader of the movement, lived precisely here, in Santiago de Cuba. A few days before 24 February, he left Santiago de Cuba right when they were going to arrest him. He went to the countryside around the city and on 24 February he was fighting with other compatriots from the eastern provinces, including those from Baire, and other compatriots in the rest of the country.

Moncada's participation in that war was very brief, however; he died on 5 April, 40 days after the uprising began. When he began fighting, he was already seriously ill as a result of a disease he had caught in this same place, in these same buildings. I imagine that they have been modernized since then. They were Spanish barracks and a prison. There, he contracted a lung disease that would bring about his death when the war had barely started. That is why afterwards these barracks were named Moncada Barracks, in honor of that extraordinary combatant of the War of 1868 and the head of the revolutionary forces in 1895, in anticipation of Maceo and Gomez's arrival, with Marti, of course.

What must those hours preceding 24 February have been like for Marti and Gomez? They were feverishly planning the uprising, anxiously waiting for news from Cuba, to find out what would happen on 24 February, the date set even after the terrible blow dealt by the seizure in the United States of the guns of what was called the Fernandina Expedition. The three ships that were to bring the guns were seized. Marti wanted a quick, short war, with as little bloodshed as possible, and well planned.

We all know how that war ended, with the intervention of the American forces in our country, at a time when Spain was already defeated. This intervention became an occupation of the country for four years. It resulted in the disbanding of the liberating army and the Revolutionary Party founded by Jose Marti. These barracks, which bore the name of one of those heroes, became a place for housing not Mambi forces but the forces of the army created by the American occupation troops. They were not used to defending those ideals for which our forefathers had fought. They were used to upholding regimes of force and exploitation, upholding the new colony founded by the United States where a Spanish colony had existed for centuries.

The Mambises, including Calixto Garcia, could not enter Santiago de Cuba. They were forbidden from entering Santiago de Cuba. What an atrocity, after 30 years of struggle! They did not let the Cuban troops enter the other cities in the country. No revolution triumphed. Fifty-eight years and five months after that 24 February, a revolutionary generation again experienced the tasks and tensions of preparing for an uprising, with the taking of precisely these barracks, or of what had been barracks until the revolution turned them into a great school.

We lived through those times and it was for good reason that the eastern region and the city of Santiago de Cuba were chosen to begin the armed revolutionary struggle. [applause] The heroic traditions of the population, which had begun the first war for independence in 1868, the patriotic spirit of this city and these provinces, justified it, but in addition the geography and topography of this eastern region justified our conviction that the just cause we represented would receive the support of Santiago de Cuba in the first place and of all the eastern provinces. [applause]

At that time, it was not the eastern provinces. Then, it was a single province. The reaction of support and sympathy from Santiago de Cuba was instantaneous. It was what we had hoped for. It supported us throughout those years of imprisonment, exile, and organization to resume the struggle. Almost simultaneous with the landing of the Granma, Santiago de Cuba rose up under the leadership of Frank Pais [applause], along with a group of heroic combatants who defied the powerful forces of tyranny. Throughout our struggle in the Sierra Maestra, Santiago de Cuba, along with Manzanillo and Bayamo, continued its ceaseless, systematic support of the combatants in the Sierra Maestra. They were our suppliers of essential things and they continued a heroic clandestine struggle for years, until 1 January 1959, when our victorious troops entered this hundred-times heroic city of Santiago de Cuba. [applause]

That time, as we said then, the Mambises did enter Santiago de Cuba. The Mambises did enter all the cities in the country and a true revolution for which so much

blood had been shed during so many years was begun. [applause] The loyalty with which Santiago de Cuba, its population, and the population of the eastern provinces supported the revolution in all the battles of these 34 years has been admirable. They have never failed. We would have to write alongside the history of this city and these provinces the words loyalty, tenacity, perseverance, and heroism.

That is why it has been an immense honor for us to represent this city traditionally in the legislature. It has been an immense honor that we have been nominated as a candidate for deputy of the National Assembly. The people of the entire country were able to see on television, with emotion, the warm and enthusiastic support for the revolution in this city. Everyone was impressed by that child who spontaneously gave us a great lesson in political wisdom. This city and region have done a great deal for the nation, the revolution, and socialism. [applause]

They have done a great deal for national unity. They have done a great deal with their example for the entire country. [applause] We can never forget that this spirit that began in the eastern region ended with the invading forces in the western end of Pinar del Rio. The heroism, fervor, and patriotism of the people of the eastern region reached there. Santiago and Havana exchanged their titans, their giants. We cannot forget that Antonio Maceo was born in Santiago de Cuba [applause] and died in Punta Brava and that his remains lie there, near the capital. We cannot forget that Jose Marti was born in Havana, and that his remains lie here in the cemetery of Santiago de Cuba. [applause]

Tonight must bring many memories to mind and it brings us the awareness that we are also on the eve of an extremely important battle, a decisive political battle. We have invited as many journalists as have wanted to come. As you can see, there is no shortage of photographers, television cameras, and representatives of the foreign media, so that they can see everything they want to see, talk with whomever they want to talk, and ask questions of whomever they want to ask [applause] about our electoral system and how these elections have become a great battle of ideas and a test of strength between our people and imperialism. [applause, chanting]

We could ask ourselves if elections like this could be possible in societies... [rephrases] elections like the ones we are holding here, and with the nature of the ones we are holding here, with candidates nominated by the people and elected by the people, arising from the people themselves. We ask if this could be done in a society of exploiters [crowd shouts: "No!"] and exploited, [crowd shouts: "No!"] if this could be done in a society where injustice and inequality prevail. [crowd shouts: "No!"] To hold elections like these, it is necessary first to carry out a revolution as profound as the one that has taken place in our nation. [applause, chanting]

What can I say to you about the elections that has not been said and repeated 100 times? What did you say? A real democracy. [applause] But it is a clean, pure democracy. Soldiers and police do not have to guard the polling stations in this country. [crowd shouts: "No!"] Journalists will not see a single soldier or policeman. They will see pioneers, and they can talk with them and ask them about politics as well. [applause] These are elections without the slightest opportunity for fraud, which is so common in the so-called Western democracies. Because even in those democracies where they do not change the votes that have been put in the ballot boxes, there is the great fraud that to be a candidate you must be a millionaire, wealthy, a landowner, a landlord, have a whole machine.

That is fraud, because no humble, ordinary citizen has that opportunity. In our case, almost half of our legislature comes directly from the base level. That is a revolution. [applause]

What can I say to you about the united vote that has not already been said, and about its solid ethical foundation, about the equity and justice it represents, the possibility of electing those humble, ordinary men and women who do not have millions to print up placards and posters and create propaganda and hire space for advertising? The candidates in the United States.... [changes thought] They are waging this battle like brothers. Where else has this been seen? If we want to be just and start from the fact that to be elected you need more than half the valid votes, any honest person would have to acknowledge the purity and greatness of this process, as well as the courage of our people, who are able to carry this out in the difficult conditions of the special period. [applause]

Thus I do not have much more to add that has not already been said. It is not right to repeat things until people become bored or to repeat things too much. Perhaps one last recommendation: Do not let an excess of enthusiasm lead you to write slogans on your ballots, because that will nullify them. [crowd shouts: "No!"] Is it clear to you that you cannot write slogans? [crowd shouts: "No! Yes!"] In addition, there is one small point: You should not vote for any of the candidates outside your own district. [crowd shouts: "No!"] Because this is a country where everyone knows how to read and write, and if you vote for any of the candidates outside your district, you will nullify your ballot. Is that clear, very clear? [crowd shouts: "Yes!"]

Is there anything that is unclear? [crowd shouts: "No!"] So what is left to do? Think hard. [crowd shouts indistinct] No, no, no. Conserve a little energy. I know some of you walked up to 10 km to come to this rally from some of the districts, going up and down hills. [crowd shouts: "That does not matter!"] Yes, it matters. [crowd shouts: "No!"] It matters because it shows your courage, bravery, and enthusiasm. [applause]

Return to your homes and relax. It is the eve of battle. Watch television programs and listen to the radio about

what they are doing in the rest of the country, and rest like good soldiers on the eve of battle, so that you can begin it early. Tomorrow we must set an example for the world, so that not only Marti but also Antonio and Jose Maceo, Maximo Gomez, Carlos Manuel de Cespedes, Ignacio Agramonte, Julio Antonio Mella, Abel Santamaria, Frank Pais [applause]—we are on the same wavelength—Camilo [Cienfuegos] and Che Guevara and so many others who like them gave their lives for so long for the same values we are going to defend tomorrow, will feel proud of us.

Socialism or death, fatherland or death, we will win! [applause, chanting]

Castro Comments at Polling Station

FL2402213393 Havana Radio and Television Networks in Spanish 1458 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Interview with President Fidel Castro by unidentified reporters at polling station No. 799 in Jose Marti Urban District in Santiago de Cuba—live; broadcast originates from Santiago de Cuba]

[Text] [Castro] I think you must know more than I do. I came through the streets, observing. I rested well. That is a good symptom, right? I feel relaxed. (?How should I feel?) I slept well. I rested well. I feel very relaxed. I cannot say how things are going because I have not heard reports yet. I have seen people in the streets. I have seen that they are enthusiastic and everything that....[pauses] What did you say?

[Unidentified reporter] Why are all the Cuban reporters (?in the front)?

[Castro] Well, they must be more active than you. I do not think that anyone put them here. I see a crowd here. They got here first.

[Unidentified reporter] Order of arrival. We got here first.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, you spoke about a strategy; that is, the strategy of the united vote. That means that it is not a tactic but that it is something—I wanted you to explain it to us—that could distinguish our [words indistinct]....

[Castro, interrupting] The differences [words indistinct] tactical, but it is really a political strategy. That means that it is a strategy that I imagine will always be valid. It will always be valid, but it is especially valid under these circumstances. It may not be as important in the future, because the candidates will be better known. You have to keep in mind that we are undertaking this kind of elections for the first time. Many candidates are from the base level, the districts, the people's councils. They are not very well-known. There are about 100 nationally known figures.

I think that a lot of well-known people must come from this enormous pool of 1,190 candidates of delegates to the provincial assemblies. Therefore, we will not have to explain as much about what the electoral system is like as we have had to do now. Therefore, the strategy will be better known. It will not have the same basis, but there must always be a political strategy, because the requirement to get half the votes plus one is a very rigorous, high, difficult requirement. You can imagine that a man or woman with a lot of merits in a district is known but not throughout the district. There will always be new candidates. There will always be candidates who have stood out for their merits but are not very well-known

That is why I say it is not something technical or legal. The law gives the right to vote for as many candidates as there are. One can vote for one, two, three, all, or none. There will always be circumstances to justify it and there will always be a need for a strategy, but I cannot predict what the strategy will be.

[Unidentified reporter] What were your main experiences during the election campaign?

[Castro] Well, the main experience was really something notable. Because it is new, we did not know how this process was going to go. The deepest impression it has made on me is of our people's steadfastness and courage, their political culture and awareness. That is the greatest impression I have gotten, their steadfastness. That is the impression I have gotten from this period, which has been relatively short, especially because these elections are being held in such difficult conditions as the current ones.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, what does the Cuban Government (?say) about these elections for Japanese television?

[Castro] Not the government but the people hope for victory, a resounding victory. I think that victory would be the election of the vast majority of the candidates and that the vast majority get half the valid votes plus one. That is what we hope for, but we must wait and see. But according to all the symptoms, we should get that vast majority. We must wait until the votes are counted.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander [words indistinct] after these elections, do you think that the Clinton administration and the governments of the world should take a different position concerning Cuba?

[Castro] In holding these elections, we are not thinking about that. We are thinking about living up to our principles, obeying our laws, and moving our process forward. If the governments have taken certain positions, it is not because we have held elections or not but simply because they are in disagreement with the revolution. If the governments are just, they will have to acknowledge the admirable courage with which our people have carried out this process, although we did not carry it out for foreign policy reasons, but rather to do our basic duties, to do the right thing for our own people and our own consciences. There is no other purpose. The results remain to be seen.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, you seem to be tired.

[Castro] I may seem tired, but appearances can be deceptive. [laughter] I am beginning now, just like when you are in the Olympics and the race starts, you do not start running at top speed. You go slow. You start a warm-up process. I have run into you this morning during my warm-up process.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, if this is not a victory (?what will it be)?

[Castro] If it is not a victory, it will be a defeat. It will change the course of our country. It will change the course of the revolution.

[Unidentified reporter] How would it change?

[Castro] It would change our course, because the revolution would lose power, although that is very unlikely right now because, do not forget, these elections are the second phase, and we had the first phase on 20 December—wait a minute, let me finish my answer—the first phase was on 20 December. There was a previous phase, which was the phase for nominating the candidates. Under our system, the residents gathered together are the ones who propose and nominate the candidates. The residents do this, directly, in each district, which is where everyone has a right to go to give their opinion and propose, because we follow the principle that the people do the nominating and the electing.

The first phase is over and the people gave a demonstration of very great support for the revolution. For the course of this process to be different, it would have had to start being different before, starting with the district assemblies where the candidates were proposed and nominated directly. In those district assemblies, the vast majority of the people who were nominated were revolutionaries. They were revolutionaries. So the people's feelings were already expressed there. I think that the assemblies were revolutionary assemblies. Those assemblies are the ones that then receive the proposals for candidates, and they approve the proposals for candidates.

So I do not see why circumstances would have changed between 20 December and 24 February. If things go in a similar way, we should get a vast majority, in our opinion. The greatest danger was that the votes would be scattered and divided. As a result, the tremendous requirement to get more than half the valid votes would not be fulfilled and many candidates would not be elected. That was the main danger. Well, that would cause a lot of upheaval because we would have to hold further elections in many places, following the different procedures established in the Constitution. In that case, we would have to continue with this battle, which is a hard struggle and takes a lot of time and energy at a time when we need time and energy to solve and see to the vital problems our country has right now.

[Unidentified reporter] Why were so many candidates incumbents?

[Castro] Well, that was what the people at the base level decided. About 83 percent of the candidates were incumbents; more than 80 percent were incumbents but that is the result of what was decided at the base level. It is possible—not possible but certain—that many base-level delegates were replaced. It is also a result of the work by the candidacy commissions. Because the process has several stages. At the base level, the people propose candidates for district delegates and nominate them. Approximately half of them, almost half of them, are going to be members of the National Assembly, but those same district delegates are the ones who nominate the candidates from the proposals they receive from the candidacy commissions, which are made up of the mass organizations. That is the product, the result of this whole process. One can also assume that certain district delegates were not renominated simply because many of those who were delegates and had been there longer were not nominated, for different reasons, because new talented people arise. But that was the decision made and the result of this whole process. It is not something directed, planned, or scheduled. It is the spontaneous result of the whole process.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, what message do you have for the world about today's elections?

[Castro] I do not think I have any special message. The message is being sent by our people, who are showing their support for the revolution in an unmistakable way, in the face of all the theories that the revolution could not endure, that it could not endure the special period and the sufferings of the special period. I think that our people are sending a message of steadfastness, patriotism, revolutionary spirit.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, with the rigorousness with which the candidates were selected, that very precise work, would this mean that when those selected reach the National Assembly, will the National Assembly have a new way of working? Will the National Assembly [words indistinct] more?

[Castro] I think that the impact of these elections, these methods, this new process, is unpredictable. It will be very profound, in all senses.

[Unidentified reporter] Regarding economic decisions, Commander, remembering the circumstances in which they have been elected and the particular characteristics of these members of the National Assembly?

[Castro] Those are powers of the National Assembly. Who could predict that now? That has to be discussed. What did you say?

[Unidentified reporter] How many days is the new assembly going to work [words indistinct]?

[Castro] Everything depends on the needs. Everything depends on the country's needs, but we will have a

stronger assembly, with much greater authority. We had a strong assembly, with authority, but it was through indirect elections. The first part of the process was the same. The residents met and elected the district delegates. The district delegates made up the municipal assemblies, and those municipal assemblies elected the provincial delegates and also the National Assembly deputies. So they were indirect elections. They were not through a direct vote. But no one challenged this. No one impugned this. But we are convinced that this is a large, important step forward, and it is much better to submit the candidates for the provincial delegates and National Assembly deputies to a direct, secret vote by the people, so that people will have the last word. So the assemblies that elected them before no longer do so. Now they nominate them, from those proposed by the candidacy commissions.

[Unidentified reporters] [words indistinct]

[Castro] You say: one question of mine. How can I answer 10 questions at the same time?

[Unidentified reporter] From the BBC, please, in English. [Following sentences in English] Many people in the Western world are saying, Commander, that the Cuban revolution is finished and that Fidel Castro is on his way out. What do you say to that?

[Castro] Well, I say that the facts....[changes thought] I am going to answer separately about the revolution. The facts are showing the complete opposite. With respect to Fidel, Fidel is a prisoner of his obligations and this revolutionary process. He is not a free man. He has to do whatever they tell him to, which is why, if they decide that I should not continue, then, well, I will feel rewarded, more than anything else, after many years of struggle. I would not feel sad, but it is not my future that matters. That does not matter to me at all. I am doing a duty and I will do it as long as I have the energy and strength to do it, as long as it is demanded of me. That is how I see things. You must understand that a number of years have passed. This is hard struggle. It is not an easy struggle. Therefore, I think that one does not have the right to think about oneself. I have never had in my mind a thought about myself. Rather, I am interested in events and the revolution. That is what matters. I see the revolution as being very far from finished, because this is a revolution with deep roots in the people. As long as the people support it, there will be a revolution.

[Unidentified BBC reporter, in English] Can I ask you how is it going to be possible for the Revolution to continue, with so much opposition from the United States?

[Castro] Well, we have had that opposition from the United States for a long time, with the difference that the socialist bloc existed before and now it no longer exists. As a result, there is the fact that we have suffered a great blow to our economy, a terrible blow, an economic and political blow.

[Castro continues] Evidence of our strength is that we are enduring these adverse circumstances. This is evidence of our strength, when many said that we were satellites of the Soviet Union and things like that. We have shown how independent, free, and courageous we are in facing these difficult trials.

[Unidentified BBC reporter, in English] There are many complaints among the people....

[Unidentified reporters, interrupting] [indistinct shouting]

[Castro] [words indistinct]

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, [words indistinct] to be a candidate and receive the vote?

[Castro] Well, I can say that I feel excited, although it seems incredible, in spite of the times I have been a candidate. Before I was not a candidate in this way, however. This is a much more exciting way of being a candidate, because one must face....[rephrases] It is not an indirect election. It is a direct election and one faces the masses, the people, directly with their opinions to find out from the ballot box what they think.

[Unidentified reporter] After these elections, has it been thought that the next step would be direct and secret elections for the members of the Council of State and the president of the (?Republic)?

[Castro] We have not thought about those formulas. We are not supporters of those formulas, because that would give them too much power, enormous power. We prefer the type of collegial leadership; that is, power should not be concentrated too much in a single person or group of people. You must understand the immense power it gives a person if they get millions and millions of votes. What we need is to reduce people's power and not increase it. It seems to us that our system....

[Unidentified reporter, interrupting] But in the streets they talk only of Fidel.

[Castro] What?

[Unidentified reporter] But in the streets, they talk only of Fidel.

[Castro] Well, why should I be blamed for that, why should I be sent to hell because they talk about me? I have tried to serve the people, work for the people, and they mention me.You can be sure, however, that this is not a nation of illiterate people or political bosses. This is a nation of awareness and ideas. That is the most important thing of all. Look at the level of education our people have. I am going to give you more of an idea. If I am not mistaken, of the 589 candidates for deputies, 457 have university degrees. There are hundreds of thousands of people in the country who have university degrees, and everyone knows how to read and write. This has been true for some time now. People think. We have struggled a lot to get people to think, not follow slogans.

This process has been an example of that. We have a population with a very high level of education and awareness.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, if you win, what political and economic paths will (?the revolution) follow?

[Castro] Work, and work very hard, in exceptionally difficult conditions. That is the path of victory.

[Unidentified reporter] In the economic sphere, Commander, in the economic sphere, what paths will the revolution follow?

[Castro] In the economic sphere, we are going to continue with different efforts. We are trying to prioritize the most essential things for life of the populace, food in first place [words indistinct] We are developing other activities to obtain hard currency, foreign currency to trade with. We are developing tourism, biotechnology, the pharmaceutical industry, and whatever can contribute to increasing the country's hard currency income to increase our imports and promote the country's development. Because our problem is not only to survive but also to develop.

[Unidentified reporters] [words indistinct]

[Castro] Are you Japanese? You do not look it. How the Japanese have changed! [laughter]

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, please, for Japan, how many Japanese networks are here?

[Castro] Yes, we have felt very pleased and honored because of the presence of a large number of Japanese networks.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, first about Japanese investment, and then a message for Japan?

[Castro] First what?

[Unidentified reporter] About Japanese investment. What interests Cuba about Japanese investment?

[Castro] The Japanese invest everywhere. They are among the biggest investors. We would like it if they would also invest a little here in Cuba. The Japanese are subject to a lot of pressures from the United States, which does everything possible so that the fewest number of people will invest in Cuba. We want the Japanese, as they do everywhere, and consistent with their principles, to invest in Cuba also. That is what we would like. Now, the fact that there are so many Japanese networks here shows Japan's spirit of competition. [laughter] It is not a bad thing that Japan has had so much success with its trade policies. Greetings to all the Japanese, and may they continue to be Japanese and not turn into blonds. [laughter]

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, [words indistinct] interested in a government because of the electoral form [words indistinct] send a message of interest and encouragement [words indistinct].

[Castro] [words indistinct] but it is not a direct way because these are internal affairs of the country [words indistinct].

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, do you have any plans to travel to Japan in the future?

[Castro] It does not depend on my plans. One would have to find out the plans of the Japanese, [laughter] if they invite me. How could I show up there as a tourist? That is one of the many things I have had to give up in my life. I have had to give up being a tourist, which all of you and everyone can be. I cannot be, however, a tourist, unfortunately. Only in this country, but that is enough.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, there is U.S. intervention in almost all of the region of the Antilles, particularly concerning Puerto Rico. Cuba has always been the standard-bearer in bringing that case up in the United Nations. Does Cuba plan to continue upholding that banner?

[Castro] If we continue to defend just causes, it is obvious that [words indistinct]. On a day like today, 24 February, we commemorate the start of a new [words indistinct], which Marti began for the independence of Cuba and Puerto Rico. We are very much linked together in history.

[Unidentified reporter] [Words indistinct]

[Castro] Well, it is a great battle, a decisive battle of the special period. It is a decisive battle within the special period. If we lose the battle of the elections, we would lose the battle of the special period.

[Unidentified reporter, in English] Commander, many people in this country have very many....

[Castro, interrupting] [words indistinct]

[Unidentified reporter, in English] Forgive me, please. Many people in this country have many complaints about the conditions of life at present. What can you tell them about the future that awaits them? Would you think that conditions could get worse [words indistinct]?

[Castro] We are not traditional politicians who deceive people. We tell the truth to them. We explain to them the enormous problems we have and why we have these problems. We ask them to struggle. We ask them to resist. We ask them to work. That is what we do. We do not deceive the people. We tell them the truth, based on those facts.

[Unidentified reporter, in English] And will there be a conclusion? Will there be a time when these (?problems will come to an end)?

[Castro] Everything has to end, and if there is no illness that lasts 100 years or a body that could resist it, in this case we could have an illness that lasts more than 100 years and a body that will resist it, although we do not expect this. You British have also had some experiences like this, over the course of your history, because you also had quite difficult times during World War II. Then, you said you were going to resist until times changed, and times changed. We are a small country, a small country under an embargo, and we are confronting the most powerful imperialist power on earth. I think no nation has set such a great example of dignity and heroism as our people are setting. We, our people, are proud of the pages of history that we are writing. We want to rise to this occasion. This is not a nation that lowers its flags. This is not a nation that throws up its hands. This is not a nation that surrenders.

That is not in line with our historical traditions. Our traditions do not go as far back as the British traditions but are truly beautiful. For many years we had to fight alone against the Spanish regime and later we fell into the hands of the Americans. We fought and became independent. We have been fighting against the embargo for over 30 years. How long will the embargo last? That has to be asked of the United States. The embargo continues to tighten. This intensifies our difficulties and blocks our development. As long as the embargo continues, the situation will be difficult but we will not stop fighting and will keep working our hardest to improve the living conditions of our people.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, do you intend to change relations with the United States?

[Castro] That is like the trip to Japan. It does not depend on our intentions alone but on the intentions of the United States. We have never been an obstacle to improving relations. It is not part of our principles to reject an improvement in relations with the United States. We have always expressed our willingness within the context of international law for mutual respect between the two countries and the respect of something as sacred as the sovereignty of our country. We have no objections to improving relations with the United States. This will not depend on them but us. [as heard]

[Unidentified reporter] When will the results of the elections be known?

[Castro] When will the results be known? Here, it is not like in other countries. I believe that the elections will conclude around 1800. That is what is planned, except if everyone has already voted. There are certain polling stations where everyone has already voted and where the counting of the votes has already begun. I believe that the immense majority of the polling stations will close at 1800. Because the number of votes to be counted is high, I expect that it will take at least five or six hours and although we have a network of information throughout Cuba and the data will arrive quickly, I believe that the results of the deputy elections will be known around midnight. And only tomorrow, at approximately noon—I expect the election workers to get some sleep; they first have to tally the deputy ballots and then the provincial delegates ballots—therefore, I expect that within 12 hours, It might turn out to be a little more, 14, 16 hours, but I believe that approximately 14 hours later the complete results of the elections will be known tomorrow, the 25th. There are countries out there where two months after the elections, the candidates elected are still unknown. This shows the purity and cleanliness with which our elections are carried out. You are witnessing this. You can go to another polling station to see what is going on.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, [words indistinct] establishes that referendum will be conducted. What referendum could be conducted following this elections?

[Castro] Well, those that might arise or be needed.

[Unidentified reporter] Are there any issues on which to conduct a referendum?

[Castro] Right now, we do not know of any referendum issues.

[Unidentified reporter] Will this be a popular initiative or will it be initiated by the government?

[Castro] It could take place for different reasons. I do not remember at this moment the provisions of the Constitution on this. I would have to see a copy of the Constitution to answer that question.

This has become a full-fledged news conference. Do you have no plans to meet with me again?

[Unidentified reporter] If you invite us.

[Castro] I think you need to work around the city. What do you plan to do? What do you want to do? I expect that you will be having lunch at noon. I think you were awaken quite early, no?

[Unidentified reporter] At four in the morning.

[Castro] That is too much, right? But they see that you are young and healthy and they think you will be able to withstand it. I do not see any tired faces among you. I seems that the Cuban reporters were awaken even earlier. What are you going to do this afternoon? [indistinct responses] Yes, but by this afternoon I will not know anything more.

[Unidentified reporter] We can talk about other things. Why not go on a tour?

[Castro] Well, whatever you want to talk about. I will speak on whatever subject you wish. I just do not think this place is very conducive for a meeting. If you want to go on a tour, I invite you to go on a trip outside the city and see any town within this same district.

[Unidentified reporters] Fine.

[Castro] You can go....[changes thought] Nothing has been set up. If you do not have batteries....[changes thought] It has to be a surprise visit. We are now in the city but this district comprises urban, suburban, rural areas, and towns outside the city limits. We can make a surprise visit to any of these towns if you wish.

[Unidentified reporters] Yes.

[Castro] If you want. Well, in what? How do we do this to avoid disorganization? You have two buses? The Cuban journalists have one bus and the visitors from abroad--I avoid calling them foreigners because that word is a bit impolite—have two buses. I need to take at least two jeeps. Then, I will be the vanguard. [laughter] If there is a mine on the road I will get it. [laughter] There is no danger for you. [laughter] I will go in front but it will be a surprise. We will go somewhere where the people have not been forewarned.

[Unidentified reporter] Commander, at what time?

[Castro] Anytime after you have had lunch, approximately 1500. At that time, I expect you will have finished and returned. What about 1600?

[Unidentified reporter] At 1600 to recharge the batteries.

[Castro] But if we arrive at 1600, we are going to create a problem because they will be closing the polling stations at that time. Well, let us compromise. Let us say at 1530.

[Unidentified reporter] Good.

[Castro] The comrades will pick you up and I will meet you and we will go visit another area. There, in a park, not a building, it will be disorganized because the people are just that way but we can spend a while there and talk with the people. You can ask the people questions. You can ask them about the polling stations, but if we show up somewhere, there are going to be people. They are not going to be gathered already, unless they suspect something about our visit.

[Unidentified reporter] We are going to keep this to ourselves.

[Castro] Yes, but this is being broadcast live. It is my pleasure to meet you and if the energy does not fail and I have any news to relay, I will possibly meet with you at a later time. I do not have anything to keep from you. I cannot deny you anything. You have made the effort of coming here. It is our duty to fulfill as much as we can the curiosity and interests that you and the media that you represent has.

[Unidentified reporter] But commander, you have not answered my question.

[Castro] Yes, but it will have to be at another time. This is like the electoral process. It has several stages [laughter]. Maybe tonight I will be able to give you more news.

[Unidentified reporter] When are you going to grant the BBC an interview?

[Castro] If the BBC invites me, it is very possible.

[Unidentified reporter] The BBC invites you.

[Castro] I just do not know if Great Britain will give me a visa. So long. Keep working and do not forget to rest. Do we agree, at 1530? [applause]

Alarcon Remarks on Foreign Journalists

FL2402222593 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Cuban Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada visited our radio station this morning and was interviewed by journalist Ariel Larramendi. The following is an excerpt of that dialogue:

[Begin recording] [Larramendi] Studying the cables from yesterday and this morning, we learned that 200 foreign journalists will be reporting on these elections. If these journalists are honest, I imagine they will have to give a true picture of what is happening in Cuba today. What do you think?

[Alarcon] Well, that is what they should do; actually, I think that, in reality, regarding that profession, one sometimes has an unjust idea of what the journalist is like. I think there are decent journalists, journalists with integrity, everywhere in the world. What happens is that there are different kinds of journalism. The conditions under which a journalist has to work vary. Sometimes a powerful business, or a group of millionaires, has control of the medium, and it is that business or group that decides how information will be presented in a particular medium.

I can tell you that we know about one group of U.S. journalists, from one of the most important U.S. media, that is going to come who had requested visas to cover the elections. They ended up, however, not coming, not because Cuba denied them visas but because their enterprise decided not to send them because they had been here earlier and had done some reporting, from Cuba, that the management, the owners of the enterprise, considered too favorable to our country. So management was afraid the reporting might be favorable to Cuba—that is, that the journalists might tell the truth—and they did not send them.

That is a concrete example, one I know all about and which shows you something: that the journalist may be a decent person who may try to tell the truth. And, in a case such as this example I was telling you about, well, they simply do not use that journalist, do not send him. The enterprise may simply prefer not to cover a particular bit of news.

Whoever comes here with his eyes wide open and impartially, however, whoever comes here with objectivity, will not be able to help noticing many things. In

the first place, that everyone here can vote; that it is very easy, here, to register to vote and participate in the elections because the system makes it easy to do this; and that, furthermore, voters go to the polls without there being any obligation for them to do so; and that, in addition to this, they go there to vote for people who are truly representative.

[Larramendi] Thanks very much for your visit, and may you have great success in your work and candidacy.

[Alarcon] Thank you, and again congratulations on your anniversary.

[Larramendi] Thank you very much. [end recording]

Ceremony Marks Beginning of Elections

FL2402150693 Havana Radio Rebelde and Radio Progreso Networks in Spanish 1158 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Speech by unidentified announcer in Baire, Santiago de Cuba Province, during a ceremony marking the beginning of the elections—recorded in progress]

[Text] ....will resound with a convincing Yes for Cuba to offer the world a demonstration of our people's certainty about the path that we have freely chosen. Today, we will not vote for promises that were unkept nor for corrupt political games. Today, we will vote for men and women of proven loyalty to the people. We will vote for reaffirming the most glorious past, for the revolutionary work that has been built with our own hands, and for the future of our children.

The vote we will cast today, because of its historical significance and the current circumstances in which the elections are being held, goes beyond electing deputies and delegates to the provincial assemblies of the people's government. It is a vote for the independence of the fatherland and for the existence of our nation, which is involved in the struggle of living with its revolution or dying in the effort.

Today's vote requires civic spirit and courage to hoist the flags fought for by our patriots and upheld by revolutionaries who for more than 30 years have heroically resisted the imperialist attacks. On this day, we will relive the victory of the Bay of Pigs and our firmness during the October Crisis, and we will fulfill the call of the hour. We will vote united because unity is firmness, strength, and victory.

Headed by Fidel, who believed in victory and the strength of the people during the difficult days of the Moncada attack, the Granma expedition, the Sierra Maestra, and the clandestine struggle, on this day, we will forge victory in one of the most beautiful and decisive battles our people have ever fought. The revolution calls on the pride and honor of all Cubans, workers of the countryside and the city, men and women of the nation, young people, scientists, intellectuals, and all those who today will show the enemies of the fatherland the strength and mettle of the combatant people. As on that 24 February, Viva free Cuba! [audience shouts: "Viva!"] Fatherland or death, we will win! [applause]

Early Voter Participation Figures Noted

FL2502000793 Havana Cuba Vision Network in Spanish 2320 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Report by Grisel Perez]

[Text] Good evening. I am at the National Electoral Commission headquarters where the latest information on the elections is coming in. So far, 97.3 percent of the voters have cast their ballots. If we compare this with the 20 December elections, only 93.9 percent had voted by this same hour. This means we have a significant increase.

Let us go province by province: In Pinar del Rio, for example, 97.5 percent of the voters have already cast their ballots; in Havana 96.9 percent; in Havana City 96.4 percent, much higher than at this time on 20 December; in Matanzas 97.9 percent; in Cienfuegos 98.5 percent; in Villa Clara 98.8 percent; in Sancti Spiritus 99.8 percent; in Ciego de Avila 97.2 percent; in Las Tunas 100 percent, although, of course, this is a preliminary report that will be confirmed at 1600 when the polling stations close; in Holguin 97.8 percent; in Granma 97.2 percent; in Santiago de Cuba 98.9 percent; in Guantanamo 98.7 percent; and in Isle of Youth 99.1 percent.

There are interesting details from different provinces. For example, in Santiago de Cuba District No. 7, of the five polling stations closed, 99.8 percent voted for all the candidates; in Rio Cauto, in Granma Province, in eight of the nine polling stations, 100 percent voted for all the candidates; and at the remaining polling station, 90 percent voted for all the candidates; in Mella Municipality in Santiago de Cuba Province, where seven polling stations have already closed, 99.7 percent voted for all the candidates; and in Songo-La Maya Municipality, its four polling stations have 98.5 percent votes for all the candidates.

This is the latest information from an official report issued at 1500 for all Cuba.

Updated Voting Figures Noted

FL2502013493 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0102 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Report by Guillermo Bernal at the National Electoral Commission—live]

[Text] I have here the final figures as of 1800 that show that up to that time, 7,630,838 Cubans had cast their ballots. This is 97.77 percent, which is only 1.3 percent different from the 20 December figure of 7,505,404 or 98.1 percent. [figures as heard] In other words, by 1500 [as heard] we were very close to reaching the final figure

obtained during the 20 December elections. This means that these elections are already, in fact, a victory by the Cuban people.

Polling Station Cites Results

FL2502021293 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Interview with Dania Teheran, president of polling station No. 799, with Roberto Cavada, in Santiago de Cuba—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Cavada] The polling station is already closed?

[Teheran] Yes, of course. It is already closed.

[Cavaba] At what time did it closed?

[Teheran] At 1625.

[Cavada] Therefore, the counting of the votes has already been completed?

[Teheran] Yes, of course.

[Cavada] Was this done as established in the Constitution by giving the voters the opportunity to supervise the counting of the votes? Was it done in this manner?

[Teheran] Of course, they participated.

[Cavada] I would like then to find out the essential thing: the results at this polling station.

[Teheran] Deputy candidate Carlos Alberto Cabal Mirabal obtained 96.8 percent of the votes; Fidel Castro Ruz obtained 98.4 percent of the votes; and Esteban Lazo Hernandez obtained 94 percent of the votes. [passage omitted]

Dominica

European Bank Supports Dominican Investments

FL2402135793 Bridgetown CANA in English 1244 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Bridgetown, Barbados, Feb 24, CANA—The European Investment Bank (EIB) will be supporting the investments of small and medium-sized enterprises in Dominica by the provision of 2.5 million European Currency Units [ECU]—or about 8.1 million East Caribbean dollars [one EC dollar = 3.7 U.S. cents] from the Lome IV trade and aid convention's risk capital resources, the delegation of the commission of the European Communities here reported.

"The funds will be advanced in the form of two conditional loans, of which the terms, repayment arrangements, and interest rate may vary according to the conditions specified in the finance contracts," according to a statement released by the delegation.

The bank is providing a global loan of ECU 2.0 million dollars—or about 6.5 million EC dollars—for up to 15 years to the Dominica Agricultural, Industrial, and Development Bank (Aid Bank) in support of enterprises in the industrial, agro-industrial, and tourism sectors in Dominica. It is also providing a loan of ECU 0.5 million dollars—or about 1.6 million EC dollars—for up to 20 years to the Commonwealth of Dominica for increasing the Aid Bank's paid-up share capital.

"Global loans are a mechanism by which EIB funds are made available to local financial intermediaries for the financing of small and medium-sized enterprises," according to the statement released here.

Haiti

Cedras Visits Jeremie, Offers Condolences

FL2402174293 Port-au-Prince Radio Tropic FM in French 1300 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] According to a generally well-informed source, Lieutenant General Raoul Cedras, accompanied by Colonel Carl Dorelia and other officials, went to Jeremie on 21 February to offer comfort to the Grand-Anse population. The general reportedly stated upon his arrival in the city that he was present as a native of Jeremie, not as commander in chief of the Haitian Armed Forces.

The apostolic nuncio, (Lorenzo Baldiseri), also arrived in Jeremie on 23 February with the intention of celebrating a Mass on 24 February with the bishop of the city's diocese, Willy Romelus. The nuncio offered a personal donation of $16,000. Baldiseri also delivered a message of sympathy from Pope John-Paul II to the people of Jeremie, following the wreck of ferry boat Neptune that sank with more than 1,500 people aboard, and only 300 survivors.

Reportage on Gubernatorial Elections

PRI Wins in Quintana Roo

PA2402163293 Mexico City Canal 13 Television Network in Spanish 1300 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Mario Villanueva Madrid, Quintana Roo candidate of the Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI], was elected governor by a wide majority. The State Electoral Commission issued its last report on 22 February at 1905, stating that after 100 percent of the votes had been counted, the PRI obtained 101,148 votes in the gubernatorial election, followed by 5,775 votes for the Party of Democratic Revolution, with Carlos Angulo as their candidate.

It was also reported that more than 52 percent of the voters went to the polls. This is the highest voter turnout in any of the state elections. Quintana Roo is the only department where the final results have been issued less than 24 hours after the elections.

During an interview, Mario Villanueva said he is waiting for the Quintana Roo State Electoral Commission to officially swear him in on 28 February and to verify his majority victory. After this, Villanueva would then initiate his work as governor as of April. Here is what Villanueva said to a reporter:

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Specifically, what are your government's plans, what would be first on your agenda?

[Villanueva] I believe we must continue supporting tourism. We must consolidate what we already have and increase investment in tourism. With this, tourism should be the driving force behind the regional economy and behind the whole state. This refers particularly to Cancun, which is a successful development area. Cancun is a large consumer, therefore the rest of the state can devote itself to produce for Cancun. As far as political platform is concerned, we stated since the beginning of the political campaign that one of the fundamental bases would be pluralism, consensus, and a government of the majority. Nevertheless this majority must look for a consensus with the minority. In this way we will encourage other ideological views. [end recording]

Up until now, since the official election results have been issued, no protests or comments have been made by the different opposition parties in the state. This demonstrates that they have accepted their defeat. With regard to the municipal presidential election in Chetumal, the state's capital, PRI candidate Diego Rojas obtained 36,798 votes, while the 13 deputy seats were also all won over by the PRI during the 21 February elections.

Results in Hidalgo Reported

PA2402193793 Mexico City Canal 13 Television Network in Spanish 1300 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] In Hidalgo State, the Institutional Revolutionary Party, PRI, declared victory in the state elections. However, the official results of the elections held on 21 February will be announced on 25 February.

On 23 February, the PRI announced that they have won the Hidalgo State Governorship and released preliminary results with only 87 percent of the votes counted.

[Begin Mario Viorney, PRI president in Hidalgo State, recording] The votes totalled so far amount to 293,471 votes, of which 83 percent are for the PRI. That equals 244,266 votes.

The National Action Party [PAN] received 22,082 votes or 8 percent; the Party of the Democratic Revolution [PRD] received 18,832 votes or 6 percent; and other parties received 8,291 votes or 3 percent. [end recording]

With regard to the election of deputies, the PRI said they have a strong lead with up to 92 percent of the votes that have already been counted. If the trend continues, the PRI will maintain the 15 seats and the majority at the local Congress.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] How will you respond to the trust the people of Hidalgo are instilling in you?

[Jesus Murillo Karam, PRI gubernatorial candidate] We have the duty of responding in accordance with our campaign proposals. We promised to work very hard, to modify the structure of the governorship. We have to propose new, very aggressive strategies to promote growth and development in the state.

[Unidentified reporter] The opposition parties' candidates, namely the PRD and the PAN, have acknowledged that you are leading in the voting. What do you have to say about this?

[Murillo] This is a clear demonstration of political maturity. I would like to say that it is not only the recognition but also the qualities of those who were candidates for the opposition parties. There was much respect shown during the campaign. They are very respectable people. They are honestly interested in the state's prosperity, and I have high regards for each one of the candidates that participated in the elections. [end recording]

The PAN and PRD have not announced any results and, with regard to the alleged irregularities they denounced, they have not presented any evidence before the State Electoral Commission.

PRI Ahead in Guerrero

PA2402211493 Mexico City Canal 13 Television Network in Spanish 1300 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] The State Electoral Council issued preliminary results of the 1,000 tally sheets in the gubernatorial elections in Guerrero. Here is what Israel Soberano, president of the State Electoral Council, said:

[Begin Soberano recording] The National Action Party [PAN] obtained 5,634 votes, 5.18 percent; the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) obtained 65,484 votes, 60.28 percent; the Popular Socialist Party obtained 1,720 votes, 1.58 percent; the Party of the Democratic Revolution obtained 30,188 votes, 27.79 percent; the Mexican Cardenist Party obtained 1,863 votes, 1.68 percent; the Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution obtained 1,038 votes, 0.95 percent; the Revolutionary Workers Party obtained 497 votes, 0.45 percent; and the Guerrero Civic Party [Civico Guerrerense] obtained 577 votes, 0.53 percent. [end recording]

Soberano stated that the total amount of votes cast in the 1,000 tally sheets was 108,622, out of a total of 449,948 registered voters in 11 districts. The preliminary results indicate a voter abstention rate of 75.86 percent. The PAN, the Party of the Cardenist Front for National Reconstruction, and other parties agreed that even though it is painful to accept, the members maintain the PRI as the party that received the majority of the few votes that were cast in Guerrero. PRD representative Guillermo Sanchez Nava stated that PRD would request the annulment of the elections. This request was denied by the State Electoral Council. Ruben Figueroa Alcocer, PRI candidate for Guerrero governor, said that the results shows that the Guerrero residents who voted prefer PRI.

[Begin Figueroa recording] We knew there was going to be a low voter turnout, but we did not expect it to be as wide spread as it was. I see this....[pauses] unfortunately this election was surrounded by certain incidents. A violent atmosphere prevailed. This violent atmosphere did not prevail during the approximate 300 events of the political campaign. No party had any problem during the electoral campaign. Nevertheless, toward the end, unfortunate events took place that rarely occur in Guerrero. I do not remember this ever happening before. This frightened people and prevented them from voting. This is the why the state did not register the number of votes it normally and historically has. [end recording]

Chilpansingo-Chilapa Bishop Salazar Ramos said the political parties should respect the election result and should not go against the decision of those who did vote.

Official on Foreign Trade Figures for 1992

PA2402194593 Mexico City Canal 13 Television Network in Spanish 1300 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] Mexican foreign trade reached $85 billion in 1992. This amount refers to trade in manufactured goods and petroleum.

Pedro Noyola, under secretary of foreign trade and investment, announced the results of Mexico's foreign trade for 1992.

[Begin Noyola recording] Mexico's foreign trade, including petroleum and assembled manufactured goods [maquila], added up to close to $85 billion. [end recording]

The official was interviewed at the National Congress of the National Association of Mexican Importers and Exporters. He said this year the government will advance in the task of eliminating regulations to increase competitiveness for foreign trade.

Noyola added that they will strengthen the structure of the General Directorate of International Trade Practices to guarantee fair competition in the internal market without falling into protectionism.

[Begin Noyola recording] Without falling into protectionism, we must provide a fair defense for the nation's producers against unfair practices from foreign competitors in the internal market and [words indistinct] for our exporters against protectionist positions abroad. [end recording]

Speaking before Rodrigo Guerra, leader of the country's importers and exporters, Jose Angel Gurria, president of the National Foreign Trade Bank [Bancomext] said the productive sector will not lack financing. He said that banks will support any enterprise capable of winning a market, because no enterprise must lose its presence abroad due to lack of financing. He said the financing will be provided on competitive terms. But he said Bancomext cannot use credit to cover what the businessmen do not do.

Bancomext will allot $6 billion to small and midsize exporting enterprises. A total of 13,500 small and midsize enterprises will be supported by the bank.

El Salvador

Cristiani on Arms Collection, U.S. Economic Program

PA2402163193 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 23 Feb 93 p 2

[Text] One of the major problems in El Salvador is related to the efforts to gather scores of weapons. At any rate, it is the responsibility of every person to register or surrender those weapons intended for private use.

These statements were made by President Alfredo Cristiani on 22 February during his weekly news conference that took place at the Hotel Presidente after inaugurating the San Jose IX Conference of Central American and EC foreign ministers.

Referring to statements made on 22 February by Monsignor Gregorio Rosa Chavez, auxiliary archbishop of San Salvador, President Cristiani explained that weapons specifically intended for use by the Armed Forces will be immediately confiscated.

The passing of a bill by the National Assembly, which will be implemented immediately, will make it possible to implement more effective controls on the use and possession of weapons. "However, we believe we must continue the necessary efforts to gather all those weapons under the control of the various groups, since those weapons are inducing criminal activity," Cristiani pointed out.

U.S. Economic Program

In response to questions related to the economic program announced recently by President Bill Clinton, which includes cuts in foreign aid, Cristiani said El Salvador could be affected since the level of cooperation between both countries could diminish.

Nevertheless, Cristiani indicated that El Salvador has already obtained the approval of some financial aid from the U.S. Congress, which will become available shortly.

"We feel it is our duty and responsibility as Salvadorans to encourage economic development in our country that will gradually make us less susceptible to cuts in international assistance, which will most likely continue to take place in the next few years," Cristiani concluded.

'Minisummit' Held With Guatemala, Honduras

PA2402180293 San Salvador Canal Doce Television in Spanish 0300 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Report by Ghandi Montoya]

[Text] Within the framework of the ministerial San Jose IX Conference, a Central American minisummit on regional integration policies took place between the presidents of Guatemala, Hondurans, and El Salvador.

The topics discussed by the three presidents focused on the free trade agreement signed at the end of 1992 during the 13th Central American Presidential Summit in Panama. Among the most important conclusions reached during the minisummit included the adoption of economic and trade policies by the three countries.

[Begin President Alfredo Cristiani recording] In order to increase capital flow between the three countries, we will expedite the opening of bank branches in each country and integrate the stock exchanges. On economic and trade matters, we will seek to match the countries' monetary and fiscal policies to allow our countries to trade products among each other. [end recording]

One of the most important achievements was the establishment of immigration policies for use by the three countries.

[Begin Cristiani recording] Any of three identity documents may be used to travel between the three countries—passports, personal identity cards [cedulas], or drivers' licenses. Any of these three document could be used to pass through immigration. We would end exit immigration controls. [end recording]

The three Central American presidents discussed infrastructure, such as roads and power, standardizing social programs, and the possible implementation of a unified customs service.

The topics discussed at this minisummit will come into effect on 1 April, leaving the option open for other Central American countries to join this integrationist effort.

The presidents of El Salvador, Honduras, and Guatemala will meet again on 24 March. They gave assurances that the resolutions that emerged from this first work session were an example of their political resolve to integrate Central America, which will ensure the area's sustained development.

FMLN Satisfied With PNC Security Program

PA2502043993 San Salvador Radio Farabundo Marti Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Report by Dagoberto Correa]

[Text] Atilio Montalvo is the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front's [FMLN] political party representative and a member of the National Commission for the Consolidation of Peace, Copaz, subcommission in charge of studying the public security bill for the new National Civilian Police [PNC]. Montalvo reported on 24 February that the Copaz subcommission had found the public security program presented by President Cristiani to be acceptable.

[Begin Montalvo recording] The Copaz PNC subcommission wishes to express its satisfaction with the government's public security program to combat crime, which has created so many victims since the armed conflict ended. We believe the proposal to coordinate the actions of government institutions is positive. The

Supreme Court, the Attorney General's Office, and the Justice Ministry will pledge to comply with the roles assigned to them by the Constitution and the country's laws in the efficient administration of justice. That will ensure that criminals are promptly tried and sentenced. [end recording]

According to Montalvo, the role of the new PNC and the current National Police should be to increase their presence in high crime areas. Montalvo believes such an action would further strengthen the peace agreements.

[Begin Montalvo recording] The president of the Republic is responsible for managing the PNC and all the country's public security issues during the transition. We therefore believe that the PNC should be tasked with coordinating and managing public security at a national level. To further that goal, the PNC must increase its presence in high crime areas. [end recording]

The FMLN representative acknowledged the need to expedite the PNC process to eliminate violence. He said it was necessary to accelerate the start-up of Public Security Division and Criminal Investigation Department operations, which are under the Prosecutor General's Office.

[Begin Montalvo recording] The process must be expedited so the current National Police organization can focus on actions to fight crime. We believe the government and the international community should reinforce financing for the PNC, which is of vital importance to the country. The Armed Forces must give logistic and technical support to the public security program and should offer its helicopters, land vehicles, and other necessary resources to ensure the program's success. [end recording]

Atilio Montalvo said the law stipulates that the Military Police is not a police corps with public responsibilities, thus it cannot participate in police actions. It is important, he said, that the public security program not be politicized.

Murder Weapon Used Against U.S. Advisers Found

PA2402160693 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1200 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] The technical forensic crime laboratory ran ballistic tests on 81 AK-47 assault rifles and found the one used to murder U.S. advisers David Pickett and Earnest Dawson. The murder were carried out by two former [as heard] Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front guerrillas on 2 January 1991 in Lolotique Jurisdiction, San Miguel Department.

Chinameca lower court Judge Atinora Andrade said that the AK-47 used by Severiano Fuentes and Ferman Hernandez to kill the Americans was inside one of the containers in the Perquin area, Morazan Department. Currently, Hernandez and Fuentes are in La Esperanza Prison, Mariona.

Training Program for Former Armed Forces Begins

PA2402144493 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1200 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] During the weekend of 20 February, the National Reconstruction Secretariat initiated the 21 million colons investment program to implement training programs for former Armed Forces members in industrial and service areas. This was reported by official sources from that public institution in charge of implementing the national reconstruction programs. The sources said interested parties should contact personnel in charge at the military garrisons at which they were stationed during the last decade. The training programs include computer courses, masonry, car mechanics, and carpentry, among others.

Guatemala

President Says Guerrillas Obstruct Peace Talks

PA2402145493 Guatemala City EL GRAFICO in Spanish 23 Feb 93 p 6

[Report by Carlos Garcia Urrea]

[Text] Guatemala, 23 February 1992—President Jorge Serrano reiterated his willingness to sign a peace agreement with guerrillas during the negotiations that will be resumed in Mexico City on 23 February.

Serrano considered the beginning of the talks as a positive step to see if it is really feasible to resolve the armed confrontation in the country.

He asserted that the government will maintain its position that the negotiations have to be carried out under the framework of the agreements signed in the past and the documents previously exchanged by the parties.

The president said the government's position will ensure a just negotiation, which will start with the topics already approved in the agenda and will follow the procedures established in the Mexico agreement.

He added that the government delegation goes to the talks with a desire to find a solution to the problem.

Serrano, however, charged that the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity, URNG, is presenting new topics and that he believed it is doing so to cause difficulties and delay the negotiations. The president added that the only reason the human rights agreement had not been signed was because of the URNG's arbitrary position, which went against the Mexico agreement.

He said the government had shown added flexibility when it agreed to sign the agreement with immediate verification if a final deadline for the negotiations was established.

Serrano stated that the government cannot respect the URNG because it has not won it on the battlefield. Naturally, the government would be willing to accept and had proposed that verification be implemented for a specific amount of time: 90 days, the president said.

We would not find it acceptable any other way, he added, because the conflict has not ended and guerrillas are illegal. I believe the country has made too many concessions to an illegal group, which practices terrorism. For example, the group, which operates outside the law, has been allowed to publish paid advertisements and to reply to publications in the media. He reasserted that this was allowed as a concession in order to find a solution to the armed conflict.

Serrano said the government's attention was drawn to the fact that URNG in its new communique raised the same issues, which he thought had already been settled, and used the same arguments in the documents published this month. URNG goes back to the same stand, which is not very strong. But this stand, he said, is costing URNG a high price in the international community because, while the government is flexible and willing to find solutions, URNG keeps setting more and more terms.

Serrano said URNG should be more sincere and admit openly that it does not want a peace agreement or that it wants a postponement. Regarding the participation of civilians, Serrano said this is another way URNG wants to please the country's civilian sectors, which URNG never specified, thus violating the Oslo Agreement.

Government Minister on Drug Secretariat Headquarters

PA2402160593 Guatemala City SIGLO VEINTIUNO in Spanish 23 Feb 93, p 2

[Text] Government Minister Francisco Perdomo Sandoval reported on 22 February that the Permanent Central American Commission for the Eradication of the Production, Trafficking, Consumption, and Illegal Use of Drugs headquarters will be located in Guatemala.

The official added that during the first drug summit, held in Belize, the Central American presidents proposed that the organization's permanent headquarters be located in Guatemala.

The struggle against drug trafficking cannot be undertaken individually because it is a collective problem that hurts a government's structure as much as it hurts its people, he said.

In light of the situation, the Guatemalan delegation set a 90-day deadline for signing a financial cooperation agreement to counter the narcotics problem.

"The biggest tendency observed in Guatemala is the increase of drug traffickers using the country as an international bridge. we also see increasing narcotics production," he stressed.

The minister said: "The government is interested in channeling, through that agreement, a specific policy for controlling and struggling against that human scourge."

He said: "Financial support for this project will be established after the agreement is signed and sealed, because otherwise there can be no kind of follow up."

Bomb Explosions Destroy Power Pylon

PA2402153493 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish 1440 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Guatemala City, 24 Feb (NOTIMEX)—After midnight on 23 February, one medium intensity bomb toppled a power pylon in Zone 12 and an incendiary bomb exploded at the National Olympic Gymnasium in Zone 5, according to the fire department. The two bomb sites are located in the capital's outskirts. The Guatemalan Army charged the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity [URNG] with the attack, which only caused property damage.

The explosion of the time bomb at the gymnasium destroyed part of the file of the gymnasium workers union. The incident occurred a few hours after state workers unions demonstrated against the government measure prohibiting strikes by state workers.

So far in 1993, there have been bomb attacks on power pylons, four banks, the headquarters of two political parties, and a secondary school building. Two power pylons were toppled on 13 January, two more on 15 February, and three on 21 February. Explosive devices exploded in four banks on 17 February and one bomb exploded in a Guatemala City school building on 21 February.

The peace talks between the government and URNG were resumed in Mexico City on 23 February.

Nicaragua

Vice President Godoy Speaks Out Against H. Ortega

PA2402224693 Managua Radio Catolica in Spanish 1100 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Telephone interview with Vice President Virgilio Godoy by an unidentified reporter in Managua—live]

[Text] [Reporter] Dr. Godoy, what comments do you have after hearing General Humberto Ortega's claim of a destabilization plan taking place from 28 February to 25 April, which involves well-known National Opposition Union [UNO] leaders such as yourself? What are your comments on Humberto Ortega's claim that after the alleged acts are committed, some of the leaders will seek asylum in the foreign embassies in Nicaragua? We would

also like to hear your opinion on some of the new threats the Leftist Punitive Forces [FPI] have made against you and other UNO leaders.

[Godoy] Good morning, Radio Catolica, good morning Nicaragua. I read the statements made by Humberto Ortega, at least what LA PRENSA newspaper has published, and believe this is one more example of this gentlemen's usual boastfulness. Every Time he opens his mouth, he says foolish things. Humberto Ortega has no right to say the things he says. If he has any patriotism left, he should first remain silent and second, he should leave the Armed Forces—in fact, he should just leave Nicaragua. He only knows how to cause harm. What Humberto Ortega says is nothing more than a continuation of an old line he has been following. We must remember that this person is known, at least in Nicaragua, for his big threats. No one forgets the statements he delivered at Nicaragua's first military graduation, when he said that there were not enough trees to hang all the Nicaraguans who disagreed with him. No one should forget the newspaper publication on 26 December 1989, two months prior to the 1990 elections, announcing that he was going to order the execution of many people. This person has a history of making threats and now he is just doing more of the same. He is always looking at ways to threaten or scare the people of Nicaragua. I believe that in Nicaragua's history, there has never been anyone as harmful to our country as Humberto Ortega Saavedra. He believes that everyone scares easily. He is completely mistaken; we are not afraid of him, we are not going to cow, we are not going to accept being endlessly threatened, and it is precisely for this reason that we are going to attend the park rally with great vigor on 28 February.

Former Ortega subordinate Mr. Frank Ibarra has issued the same threats. Ibarra, who allegedly heads the FPI, has already admitted to being one of Arges Sequeiras' murderers. He has admitted to killing people and accepts that he is made for this sort of thing. We are going to show Ortega that this is not the way. All Nicaraguans have a right to express their ways of thinking. We will express this differently from the way the Sandinist Front people have always done. They are used to killing people, the same way they were used to torturing, persecuting, and repressing people. Now, however, the Sandinists are doing it because they are truly scared. They are scared to see how the Nicaraguan people have reacted under democracy since 21 February [date as heard]. The lesson cannot be any clearer. In Chinandega, Matagalpa, and Granada, the Nicaraguan people have been showing what they do and do not want. The Sandinists do not like this. They are accustomed to everyone remaining quiet because anything that was said against them in the past brought about persecution by state security. Now things have changed. Three years ago we won, and we are going to demonstrate that we have a right to celebrate that triumph. We need to remember that the Sandinists celebrated every 19 July—taking over the parks in Nicaragua, the state-owned trucks, fuel, and money—to celebrate the anniversary of the supposed Sandinist People's Revolution. What they really celebrated was the bloodbath they gave the country. We do exactly the opposite. We are going to celebrate our vocation for peace, civil will, faith in the future, and the optimism that leads us to believe that Nicaragua has a right to a new destiny, even if these gentlemen do not like it.

I do not care about their threats. Every Time Ortega Saavedra speaks, he not only does so off the cuff, but he does so without any sense of responsibility. We should also remember that even members of this own party have said that the country's greatest destabilizing factor is called Humberto Ortega. His own party members have asked him to leave; to leave Nicaragua in peace and to stop promoting all this climate of violence and terror, which has been his forte during the past decade.

Well Fernando, we are going ahead and we are going to celebrate with that civic, peaceful spirit; a spirit of a truly different Nicaragua that was achieved on 25 February 1990. We will particularly commemorate this to reaffirm our right to resolve things through votes rather than through less desirable ways.

Gen Ortega Says Army Ready To Fight Armed Groups

PA2402163593 Managua Radio Nicaragua Network in Spanish 1100 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] General Humberto Ortega, commander of the Sandinist People's Army, has said the Army will fight the Leftist Punitive Forces, recontras, and recompas.

Speaking to local and foreign journalists, Gen Ortega appealed to all of the political parties not to support any of the armed groups that have emerged in the country.

[Begin Ortega recording] These groups are using the same methods and making the same demands as armed rebels in other countries. Only the Army and the police are authorized to use arms in our country. We will not permit armed insurrection. We will fight the Leftist Punitive Forces, regardless of their objectives and the cause or causes they defend, just as we fight recontras and recompas. [words indistinct] I hereby call these groups (?to recognize) that this is not the right way, that they must lay down their arms. I also appeal to all political forces not to back any of these groups lest they aggravate the problem. We will fight all these groups according to law to protect our society. [end recording]

Sandinist Death Squads Announce 'Death Sentences'

PM2502100693 Paris LE MONDE in French 23 Feb 93 p7

[Bertrand de la Grange report: "Chief of Sandinist 'Death Squads' Announces That Political Leaders Will Be 'Executed'"]

[Text] Santa-Carmela (Northern Nicaragua)—The Sandinist death squads that claimed responsibility for the murder on 23 November of Arges Sequeira, the main leader of the struggle to regain property confiscated between 1979 and 1990, have opted for an escalation of

the violence by announcing on Sunday 21 February that they "would execute" the political leaders who favor restoring the "privileges" in force in the days of the Somoza family dictatorship. At least that is what Frank Ibarra, their leader, said in an interview to LE MONDE.

They were known to exist under the worrying name of Punitive Forces of the Left (FPI, according to the Spanish abbreviation), but they had never before shown their faces. This has now been done following an unexpected meeting in the mountains of Jinotega Department, 150 km north of the capital, Managua.

Lieutenant Colonel Frank Ibarra, officially the most wanted man in Nicaragua, accused of having murdered Arges Sequeira, was waiting for us just a few kilometers from the road linking the towns of Matagalpa and Jinotega. Around 20 men in combat uniforms, equipped with kalashnikov rifles, machine guns, and a Russian RPG-7 rocket launcher, were guarding him on the wooded hill between fields of corn and black beans. All were wearing a black scarf that covered their face. Only Frank Ibarra uncovered his face, but he kept on his black cap decorated with a picture of Jamaican singer Bob Marley. This former state security forces commander, around 40, bearded, confident, and speaking with determination, introduced himself as "FPI chief of staff."

"We are not terrorists," he said, "but we want to end the people's persecutors who are trying to rob them of land, factories, and houses that the revolution gave them. The people have elected a bourgeois government (the Sandinistas were defeated in the elections on 25 February 1990), but we will not allow the revolution's achievements to be questioned." Ibarra claims to be the upholder of laws 85 and 86, which enabled the Sandinistas to divide among themselves the goods confiscated from the private sector from 1979 onward before handing over power to President Chamorro. By advocating the return of this property to more than 5,000 former owners, Arges Sequeira had therefore become a mortal enemy, especially because he had achieved some success in his efforts.

"Contrary to what the police say, I did not kill Sequeira," the FPI chief of staff said, without setting much store by the many witnesses and large amounts of evidence provided by the inquiry, carried out in collaboration with Spanish inspectors. He denies that Captain Javier Espinoza, who was standing behind him, was also involved. He admitted, however, that he had ordered "the abduction of Sequeira to force him to publicly state that he was working for the U.S. Embassy." "Unfortunately, he reacted violently when he was intercepted, and he was killed," he added, without great regret.

"We are not murderers but dispensers of the people's justice," he said to justify the other "death sentences" that his "urban commandos" will execute as soon as possible. First on the list is Humberto Castilla, a Christian Democratic deputy accused of having made statements in favor of former Contra rebels who contributed to the Sandinistas' election defeat and who have begun to take up arms to ensure their own protection (according to the OAS, which is verifying implementation of the peace agreements, 173 former Contras, including Enrique Bermudez, their main leader, have been murdered since July 1990 with complete impunity because the police and legal authorities, like the Army, are still controlled by the Sandinistas).

Links With the Army

Without going so far as to threaten them with the death sentence "for the time being," Ibarra warns Managua Mayor Arnoldo Aleman, Vice President of the Republic Virgilio Godoy, and "other right-wing leaders like Alfredo Cesar," the former speaker of the National Assembly. "They want to go back to the days of Somoza, by implementing a neoliberal policy that makes the poor poorer and the rich richer."

Do these "guardians of the revolution," who greatly resemble the sinister death squads in El Salvador and Guatemala, have a link with the Army and General Humberto Ortega, its chief, who was maintained in his post by President Chamorro in the name of national "reconciliation?" Ibarra denied it, stating that he left the Army in June 1992 and that he disagrees with the "weak attitude of top military leaders, prepared to support the government's neoliberal policy." He admitted, however, that, with other members of the military, he started to set up the structures of the FPI "two years ago" when he was still in the Army.

How is he able to move around so easily within the country and also abroad? Three weeks after the murder of Sequeira, he traveled to Mexico where he spent almost a month, until 9 January. How did he leave Nicaragua and reenter it? "By Managua Airport, like everybody else," he said with a smile, of course.

Foreign Minister Comments on Debt Restructuring

PA2402132693 Managua Sistema Nacional de Television Network in Spanish 0230 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Vilma Estrada Report]

[Text] On 23 February, the British Government agreed to restructure Nicaragua's $2.5 million commercial debt in an agreement signed at the Foreign Cooperation Ministry by Foreign Cooperation Minister Erwin Kruger Maltez and British Ambassador John Culbert [name and title as heard]. This shows the international community's support for Chamorro's economic stabilization efforts. On the morning of 23 February, the British and Nicaraguan Governments signed a Paris Club note on the restructuring of the $2.5 million debt. For the public sector, it provides a 50 percent reduction over a 23-year period with a seven-year grace period. For the private sector, the agreement provides for restructuring without reduction for five years.

[Begin recording] [Culbert] I am very proud to confirm that the British Government was the first to offer Nicaragua this type of debt restructuring in line with the Trinidad terms [preceding two words in English]. I have been in your country for a very short time, but I am aware of the importance of this type of agreement.

[Kruger] It is wonderful to see how the international community has supported us throughout the consolidation of our democratic process and the reconstruction of Nicaragua. We know we can count on the international community's support as demonstrated by the presence of such a prominent figure as the British Foreign Affairs vice minister [title as heard]. Mr. Culbert wanted to be here for the signing of this financial agreement, by which 50 percent of our debt has been written off. [end recording]

The two governments agreed to a $700,000 concessional debt in an exchange of notes. The Foreign Cooperation Minister announced that Nicaragua hopes to renegotiate its $830 million foreign debt during the Paris Club meeting on 1 and 2 April.

[Begin Kruger recording] We hope to succeed at the April Paris Club meeting in obtaining the necessary funds to keep the plan working, but it will depend on discipline on part of all Nicaraguans: discipline by employees regarding salary restrictions, the discipline of the state regarding expenditures—we are reducing state expenditures—and discipline by private enterprise in making good and profitable investments so that this country can become functional. Otherwise, we would have wasted our time. [end recording]

Kruger also said the service on Nicaragua's foreign debt is $76 million, a figure that Nicaragua cannot pay under present conditions. He also announced that Foreign Cooperation Deputy Minister Sergio Mario Blandon is in Paris to establish the amount of the debt to be negotiated at that international forum.

Argentina

Russian Charge d'Affaires Protests Shooting

PY2402225193 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2115 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Buenos Aires, 24 Feb (EFE)—The Russian Federation Embassy in Buenos Aires warned today that had the shots fired at a Russian trawler in the South Atlantic caused any casualties, "it would have without a doubt affected relations" between the two countries.

Russian Charge d'affaires Igor Prokopyev said in a news conference that the measures taken by Argentine Naval Prefecture (Coast Guard) boats against the Russian trawler Orel on 19 February "were inappropriate."

"Fortunately, there were no casualties," said Prokopyev, who defended the ship's captain's refusal to stop because, according to his navigation equipment, the trawler was outside the exclusive Argentine 200-nautical-mile economic zone.

Two prefecture patrol boats fired machine gun and cannon shots at the Russian trawler when its captain refused to stop the engine and tried to get to the high seas. According to Coast Guard spokesmen, equipment indicated the trawler was fishing 197.9 nautical miles from the coast.

Prokopyev said that based on the need to maintain and strengthen the spirit of relations between the two countries, and "to seek useful and really friendly interaction and cooperation, Russia is in favor of finding a political and mutually acceptable solution to this incident."

The Russian diplomat said the release of the trawler and its crew members, in addition to the continuation of legal action by Argentine justice based on local legislation and international law, could be the beginning of solving the conflict.

The Orel was intercepted 10 days ago off the coast of Rio Negro Province, Argentina's Patagonia region, within the so-called Argentine sea while illegally fishing squid, according to Argentine officials.

Cooperation Agreement Signed With Germany

PY2402181693 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1239 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Buenos Aires, 24 Feb (NA)—Defense Minister Erman Gonzalez and his German counterpart Volker Ruehe have agreed to implement a cooperation program in military strategy and reorganization of the Armed Forces.

Through a joint declaration released this morning, the defense ministers from the two countries stated that the integration proposal also encompasses military education and training of Armed Forces personnel.

Argentina will thus send officers from the different branches to universities of the German Armed Forces and to the Koblenz Center for Internal Leadership [Centro de Conduccion Interna de Koblenz].

Meanwhile, the Argentine Armed Forces will receive German officers at national training centers.

The document states that this Argentine-German joint declaration will contribute to "maintaining peace" and represents "an example of the importance of international cooperation between continents."

Menem Receives German Minister Ruehe

PY2502005393 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2059 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Buenos Aires, 24 Feb (NA)—Today President Carlos Menem received German Defense Minister Volker Ruehe, with whom he discussed—although on a protocol basis—the main aspects of their bilateral relations.

The meeting between Menem and Ruehe also was attended by Argentine Defense Minister Erman Gonzalez and German Ambassador to Argentina Karl Herbert Limmer.

It was officially reported that it was a protocol meeting within the framework of the visit to Argentina by the German minister.

Intervention in Corrientes Legislature Lifted

PY2402220293 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 2011 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Buenos Aires, 24 Feb (NA)—Following a "governability agreement" signed between the federal trustee for Corrientes Province, Ideler Tonelli, and all the political forces of Corrientes Province, President Carlos Menem today decided, through a decree, to lift the federal intervention in the Corrientes legislative branch.

The announcement was made this afternoon by Interior Minister Gustavo Beliz, who said the agreement signed with the 39 Corrientes legislators includes the holding of gubernatorial elections, through the direct vote system, along with the national elections, which, in principle, will be held on 26 September.

The agreement also establishes that the federal intervention, headed by Tonelli, and the Corrientes legislative branch "commit themselves to substantially reducing expenditures" in their respective budgets.

Concerning the Corrientes legislative branch, the agreement establishes that the streamlining "will be completed before 30 June" and will involve "a 50-percent saving" in expenditures and payroll.

According to the agreement's first point, the two branches "commit themselves to making an effort to

guarantee the province's definitive institutionalization within the framework of the new electoral system."

In this regard, Beliz noted that this afternoon he contacted the Autonomist and Liberal Pact [of Corrientes] leader, Senator Jose Antonio Romero Feris, to inform him that powers had been restored to the legislative branch. Beliz emphasized that the federal government "intends" to normalize the situation of the judicial branch "as soon as possible."

It was also agreed that Tonelli will call special sessions "if he deems it appropriate." Otherwise, the Corrientes legislative activities will be resumed with the regular sessions scheduled for 1 (?March).

In another point, the agreement notes that the legislative branch "will especially discuss the bills submitted by the federal trustee in keeping with the general guidelines for the national economic emergency and administrative reform laws."

The document released by Beliz finally points out: "A consultation and coordination system will be established between the two (executive and legislative) branches in order to achieve legislation better suited to the proposed common goals."

In conclusion, the document notes: "In addition, each branch will discharge its specific duties, abiding by the Constitution and the laws, excluding and overcoming sector and partisan issues."

Bolivia

U.S. Drug Enforcement Aid Viewed

PY2402215193 La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish
14 Feb 93 p 5

[Report by Marcel Gonzalo Unzueta]

[Text] U.S. President Bill Clinton has confirmed the cut in financial aid intended for Bolivia and countries from the Andean subregion to implement the drug enforcement program.

But Europe and Asia might complement this cooperation if they accept the proposal to be submitted in the upcoming months by the delegation made up of Andean countries and Mexico, which are the most affected by the drug scourge.

Bolivian Foreign Policy Under Secretary Humberto Bohrt talked with PRESENCIA journalist Marcel Gonzalo Unzueta on this issue, diplomatic relations with the United States, and the signing of the new extradition accord.

[Unzueta] Drug trafficking is a major topic in Bolivian-U.S. relations. How is drug enforcement taking shape in Latin America under Clinton's administration?

[Bohrt] Despite being a major issue within bilateral relations, drug enforcement is not the most significant one. Most U.S. economic aid is not aimed at drug enforcement but at the health, education, and alternative development areas.

As for the new U.S. administration's objectives, President Clinton said he will concentrate on the reactivation of his country's economy. He needs funds and, consequently, financial assistance will be reduced 17 percent, but there will be more flexibility in eradicating coca crops. This is positive because we believe that European countries may grant major assistance to the program and thus balance, somewhat, drug enforcement, about which they have a different viewpoint from that of the United States.

The reduction of U.S. assistance will force Bolivia to seek the cooperation of other countries.

In compliance with the agreement reached at the presidential summits in San Antonio, Texas, and Cartagena, a meeting will possibly be held in La Paz late in March to designate a delegation that will visit Europe and Asia to explain the projects on interdiction, alternative development, and drug prevention that are being implemented by each country.

[Unzueta] After the presidential summits in San Antonio, Texas, and Cartagena, the Andean countries agreed to reject a certain meddling by the United States in drug enforcement. However, this country is imposing its strategy after a few months have passed. What do you think about this?

[Bohrt] During the preparatory meetings for the San Antonio presidential summit we drafted a document in which we again addressed the global objectives, which were similar to those proposed by the United States. I do not agree with the U.S. position of gradually imposing its policy. I think policies must be adopted by each country.

The U.S. projects agreed upon with Bolivia are not similar to those implemented in the Andean countries and Mexico. The projects are subject to the circumstances and problems of each country. Policies cannot be applied on a general basis. Each country has specific problems within drug enforcement, and we must overcome them with U.S. cooperation. In short, the United States is the country that provides the main assistance for drug enforcement.

[Unzueta] Is the United States the great dissuasive country in Bolivia's internal policy?

[Bohrt] The United States focuses on certain major political objectives like democracy, economic growth, and drug enforcement. Bolivia fully agrees with them, and we have received significant financial aid to meet these objectives.

These are common global objectives and we are discussing ways to meet them. We have to negotiate and reach an agreement.

[Unzueta] The government has launched the "diplomacy of coca" strategy, which opposes the alternative development program. Does it not imply a great contradiction?

[Bohrt] The government has adopted a clear position in this regard. Learning the characteristics of the coca leaf will help show the world that it is used not only to produce illegal drugs but legal and marketable products.

To this end, we need to learn the international experts' opinion on the legal products we can produce and how. Does coca have enough nutritional values to produce nutritional products? Does it contain chemicals or other elements in order to produce medicines? These are questions without answers. Therefore, it is important for the WHO [World Health Organization] to provide us assistance. We will obtain this information with its cooperation, and thus we will make a decision on the so-called diplomacy of coca.

[Unzueta] Extradition is one of the topics included in the drug trafficking issue. Bolivia and the United States are negotiating a new treaty. The Bolivian Foreign Ministry confirmed that the United States supports the signing of the project presented in 1990. Bolivian official and juridical circles believe the U.S. position to be some form of pressure. Under what juridical basis is the new treaty being negotiated?

[Bohrt] We are improving the extradition system of the 1988 Vienna Convention and the 1900 bilateral treaty, which are two juridical instruments that allow the extradition of nationals and foreigners.

The draft-treaty being negotiated with the United States that did not conclude is now being studied by Bolivian and U.S. jurists because the treaty must be adjusted to the two countries' laws.

In this regard, a political decision was made to sign an extradition treaty that will include new legal regulations such as the repentance decree and the decree on foreign agents.

The draft-treaty will be submitted to the U.S. Government in the next few weeks.

[Unzueta] Why does the U.S. Government exert pressure for signing the 1990 project but gives no guidelines to the government to change some points of that treaty.

[Bohrt] The rush is logical. The decision to sign the treaty is based on two points. First, the crime for drug trafficking is not included in the previous treaty. The Vienna Convention mentions this crime in some way. But many people believe that it is a bit difficult to accept it, and that the best thing would be to have a treaty including the crime of drug trafficking. Second, the Supreme Court decision on extradition was explicit regarding the extradition of Ronald Iriarte. The decision said that criminals who committed crimes before the Vienna Convention was enforced cannot be extradited. For some jurists that decision is not correct, but we respect that decision and believe it is the most important factor for signing a new treaty with clear rules.

[Unzueta] Could you refer to the agreement on DEA agents?

[Bohrt] It is a very important and delicate agreement. It will regulate the "status" [preceding word in English] of DEA agents and how they will carry out their job.

The document was sent to the U.S. Embassy two months ago, and we will hold a meeting in the near future to discuss it.

[Unzueta] The issue that caused controversy was the Civic Action Program. Will the government request its continuation?

[Bohrt] The government has given positive signals about the Civic Action Program. The Armed Forces Organic Law establishes whether permission should be requested or not for the presence of military troops.

Military troops involved in medical programs do not need permission, but troops involved in civic action programs to build schools and other projects need permission.

The country is interested in the continuation of the civic action assistance, and the Defense Ministry will draw up a cooperation program for this purpose.

This is why we believe it is important that the agreement include what kind of cooperation is wanted with the United States even if we are not able to have the program this year.

[Unzueta] Could you evaluate Bolivian-U.S. relations in the last few years?

[Bohrt] Relations have been good in the last three years. The United States understands our problems better; it has the sensibility to realize that problems cannot be solved the American way but the Bolivian way.

There is a rapprochement. In 1985, U.S. aid was $44 million, now it is about $200 million. This is an important jump.

[Unzueta] There was, however, talk about a reorganization of relations. What are the main points?

[Bohrt] Parts of the reorganization include the agreement in support of the balance of payments and the A, B, and C sections that define the framework of technical assistance in the struggle against drug trafficking.

The extradition treaty, the issue of DEA agents, and the civic action tasks remain to be studied.

Overall, there are some points we are negotiating, and we hope by the end of our administration that we will be able to conclude the reorganization of our relations with the United States.

Document Problem To Keep 900,000 From Voting

PY2502021393 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1603 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Madrid, 24 Feb (EFE)—Nearly one-third of the Bolivian voting-age population will not be able to register in the Voting Registry that will open 7 March in order to exercise their voting rights in the general elections scheduled for 6 June.

The National Electoral Court estimates that 900,000 people will not be able to vote because they do not have the documents required by the Electoral Law, which was recently modified.

The National Statistics Institute (INE) estimates there are 2,920,200 people older than 21, or older than 18 if they are married, who are entitled to vote. These figures are based on the last population and housing census carried out in June 1992.

According to INE figures, 1.7 million voters live in urban areas, while 1.2 million voters live in rural areas. The latter are the most affected given that they do not have the identification documents required by the new law.

The legislative branch approved modifications to the Electoral Law including discontinuing the use of birth or baptism certificates and marriage licenses as valid documents for people to sign up in the Voting Registry.

During the May 1989 general elections and in the last December 1991 municipal elections, citizens voted by showing their identification document, passport, discharge papers, birth certificate, baptism certificate, or marriage license.

The leaders of the main political parties consider the elimination of the three last documents as very positive because they could have been used to carry out fraud.

The Civil Registry and Identification Offices never had the technical or economic capacity to provide documents to most rural inhabitants, nor to maintain modern citizen identification files.

This situation, which has officially been acknowledged, has given way to the creation of a sole National Registry (RUN) thanks to the financial support of Spain. Since the RUN system began being implemented a year ago, it has handed out identification documents to 126,000 citizens and registered 400,000 others, mostly in rural areas. [passage omitted]

Brazil

President Discusses Anticorruption Measures

PY2502011493 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2200 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] President Itamar Franco wants to change the law to prevent abuses by economic powers. He will meet next week with the National Accounting Office [TCU] president to learn what the TCU needs to create mechanisms to help prevent corruption and make federal administration more open.

President Itamar made this statement during an informal 40-minute conversation with journalists in his office on the third floor of Planalto Palace. The president spoke about his concerns and the difficulties he found in reducing social injustices in Brazil. The president of the Republic mentioned the abuses committed by oligopolies in different economic fields. He said he will change the economic order because this is what the people who approach him in the streets, as well as everyone, always request from him.

According to President Itamar, the oligopolies are confusing things. Since his government does not want to implement economic shocks, price freezes, or price controls, the oligopolies think this is a weak administration, he said. But they are wrong, the president said, adding that strict measures to combat abuses will be passed like in the case of medicine manufacturers.

President Itamar also spoke about the appointment of second-echelon government officials. He said they will be changed gradually, by listening to the suggestions of Congress, but he will not negotiate posts and the prevailing criteria will be professional competitiveness. He said all the ministers are entitled to appoint personnel independent from political interests.

The president admitted that the second-echelon changes may begin with the Postal and Telegraph Company, but he did not specify any date.

Planning Minister Rules Out Inflation Package

PY2502011293 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network in Portuguese 2200 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Planning Minister Yeda Crusius once again ruled out the adoption of an economic package to curb inflation. There exists, she said, a program to curb inflation that has been carried out since the beginning of this administration:

[Begin Crusius recording] This program seeks to diminish the inflation rate in the short term to definitively establish in the long term the reforms necessary to prevent price markups at erratic levels, as has been happening until now. [end recording]

Minister Crusius also said this program requires congressional approval of several bills for public bids, fiscal adjustment, and the negotiation of the debts of states and municipalities in order to place in order the accounts the National Treasury must pay.

*** Simonsen Views Parliamentarism, Major Errors**

93SM0126A Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 20 Jan 93 pp 7-9

[Interview with former Minister Mario Henrique Simonsen by Marcos Sa Correa; place and date not given: "A King for Brazil"]

[Text] The former minister advocates a monarchy and says the country has improved under Itamar, but warns that any social policy is useless when inflation is running at 25 percent.

At the turn of the year, Brazilian monarchists won a crown to be worn, if not on the head, at least in the mind. That crown is the support of Professor Mario Henrique Simonsen, whose authority is based not only on periods spent as minister of finance and planning but also on intellectual expeditions into academic territories ranging from pure mathematics to music and from physics to the theory of education. In the fortnightly column he writes for the magazine EXAME—a column usually devoted to economic matters—Simonsen greeted 1993 by proclaiming: "A parliamentary monarchy is the best thing for the country." That is the first title of nobility to be conferred on an issue that seemed destined to end up on the sidelines in the debate between presidentialists and parliamentarians.

With the reinforcement provided by Simonsen, the problem of the monarchists in the plebiscite is just as big as it ever was. But they have dramatically increased their chances for entering the campaign without looking ridiculous. They have won the support of an extraordinary Brazilian economist who, when he takes up a new topic, does not give unprofessional advice: he teaches a class. An amateur but energetic baritone who for 40 years has interrupted anything in order to study singing for two hours a week, a music critic who had the courage to say a few years ago, before the first discos were heard, that tenor Luciano Pavarotti turns any aria into a variation on "O Sole Mio," and a patron of the Brazilian Symphony Orchestra—the only subject he has recently discussed with the government—Simonsen improves when he steps outside his special field. Last year he improvised a course on the historical evolution of analytical thought for his students at the Getulio Vargas Foundation. In it he broke down all the fences separating the various fields of knowledge. Result: this year he is doing an encore, and the study outline is turning into a 500-page book. With those credentials and the energy of someone who stopped being a compulsive smoker two months ago, he explains in this interview the unorthodox shock he has administered to political ideas.

[Sa Correa] What is the importance of an opinion like yours in the midst of a campaign for the return of the monarchy?

[Simonsen] First of all, I had become convinced that that was the best solution for governing this country. And it was the end of the year. On such occasions, I usually change the topic in my column and look a little beyond day-to-day problems. Last, I felt that it was time to discuss a decision of the greatest importance and one that almost no one is paying any attention to despite the plebiscite on 21 April.

[Sa Correa] Is your article supposed to be taken literally?

[Simonsen] Obviously yes. I gave my opinion, although I am convinced that the monarchy has not the slightest chance of winning in the plebiscite. Many people did not understand, thinking that what I want is the restoration of privileges. On the contrary, if we are going to have a king in Brazil, I feel that he must be like the one in Sweden: a king who rides a bicycle.

[Sa Correa] What turned you into a supporter of monarchy?

[Simonsen] First I became a supporter of the parliamentary system. I am firmly convinced of the complete failure of presidentialism in Brazil. All one has to do is look over the list of presidents elected, either directly or indirectly, since 1930. With the exception of Juscelino Kubitschek, who completed his term, and the military, there has been nothing but disaster. Getulio Vargas committed suicide, Janio Quadros resigned, Tancredo Neves died before taking office, and Fernando Collor has been impeached. The only thing we have not experienced so far is assassination. So I prefer to try parliamentarism.

[Sa Correa] Does your list not prove only that presidentialism is subject to accidents like any other system of government?

[Simonsen] There are only two choices: either you admit that the country has tremendously bad luck or you conclude that the system is defective. But after being won over to parliamentarism, I came up against another complicated question: what are we supposed to do about the chief of state? The republican option offers extreme alternatives. At one extreme, there is direct election of the president, in which case the result is a semiparliamentary system of the French type—a system tailor-made for General Charles de Gaulle's personality. That creates a numerical problem, with the president telling the prime minister: "I was elected with 35 million votes, while you received 350." At the other extreme is indirect election of the president.

[Sa Correa] Is it possible to discuss indirect election in a country that was campaigning for direct elections less than 10 years ago?

[Simonsen] It is undoubtedly awkward. The politicians would have to announce to the voter: "Excuse us, it was all very nice, but unfortunately it did not work out." We have just finished impeaching the first directly elected president. But I suspect that the tendency will be to avoid discussing that in the campaign and to leave it for later, when the result will probably be a hybrid arrangement. And in that case, it would be best to pass directly

to a monarchy. That solves the problem of making a choice at the ballot box. And there is nothing like a monarch to represent the state with dignity.

[Sa Correa] Are you acquainted with the imperial family?

[Simonsen] Superficially. This week, after the article appeared, I had lunch at a table full of princes. But I want to point out that I am not cut out to be a duke—not even a duke in an opera. One role that I would like, for example, is that of the Duke of Mantua. But Verdi reserved that for tenors, and since I am a baritone, I can only do Rigoletto, the court fool.

[Sa Correa] Does an article by Prof. Mario Henrique Simonsen discussing the monarchy in a business magazine mean that the economists' pharmacy has run out of remedies?

[Simonsen] Yes. What good does it do to talk just about the economy? People in Brazil argue about the same thing morning, noon, and night: what will the inflation rate be next month? And they know that it will be approximately 25 percent. The country's problem is not to discover what it needs to do about the economy, because everybody knows that: it needs a reliable currency, openness to the outside, and technological modernization. In economic theory, anything that is not obvious is almost always nonsense.

[Sa Correa] If it is so obvious, why is it not being done?

[Simonsen] The institutional conditions are lacking. That is another reason why I became a supporter of parliamentarism. It does no good to hope for providential men: a superminister of finance or a superpresident of the republic. That solves nothing. Intelligent organizations are the ones that operate with normal people. In the parliamentary system, I hope that Congress will work better. A deputy will not vote for a bill just to get media coverage with the voters and leave it to the president to veto that bill, because the country will be watching him. Was that not what happened with the impeachment? Congress functioned well because all Brazil was watching it.

[Sa Correa] Would it not be a good idea to keep an eye on it now in connection with tax reform? Or when it votes on the budget?

[Simonsen] In that case, what is lacking is a budget with clear principles. If every deputy is allowed to tack on all the amendments he wants, then obviously the result will be those 80,000 amendments that no one looks at. Under the current Constitution, if we were logical, there should not be any more voluntary transfers from the Union to the states and municipalities, because their share of federal tax collections has already increased sufficiently. If discretionary transfers were halted and only the automatic transfers remained, $10 billion would no longer disappear every year in appropriations due to shady political deals.

[Sa Correa] Without the transfers, what would the Itamar administration's social policy be like?

[Simonsen] No social policy can withstand inflation of 25 percent per month. The minimum wage of $100, for example, is a joke. At the end of the first month, when it is actually paid, it is worth only $80. At the same time, any citizen with capital is completely protected from the effects of inflation. If the government gives him 1 percent less than the monthly inflation rate, there is bedlam in the financial market, the parallel dollar rises in value, and national savings emigrate to international markets. As we all know, wages do not migrate. Even if they are swindled out of 33 percent of their value, they have no way to flee the country.

[Sa Correa] In any case, is it not better to have a president talking about poverty than to have one impoverishing people by talking about modernity?

[Simonsen] President Collor's talk about modernization did not impoverish anyone. It was obsolete practices that were impoverishing people. Collor's action was modern, and even then timidly so, only to the extent that he opened up the ports, began privatizing, and revised tariffs. The military governments did not talk about social concerns, but until the Geisel administration, wages rose, employment increased, and the standard of living improved steadily. Talk does not lead to anything except the Brazilian Academy of Letters.

[Sa Correa] Some 25 years ago, in your book *Brasil 2000*, you assumed that Brazil would be part of the First World by the turn of the millennium. Will it happen?

[Simonsen] No, what I predicted is no longer going to happen within that time period. I was projecting growth rates of from 6 to 7 percent annually in the 1970's, 1980's, and 1990's. In the 1970's, we grew even faster than that, but we fell behind in the 1980's, and now we are at a standstill. In order to reach that point in 2001, the Brazil of 1993 would have to have modernized technology and no inflation and be growing at a rate of about 7 percent per year, with no social deterioration or unemployment and no marginalization in the cities or impoverishment of all classes—primarily the middle class.

[Sa Correa] How much worse than expected will 1993 be?

[Simonsen] Per capita income may be about 40 percent, or at least 30 percent, higher. It is difficult to estimate these things without getting into science fiction, but it is possible to take examples of how we fell into the vicious circle of poverty. As long as the Housing System was in operation, about 1,000 homes per year were being financed. Today the number is 20,000. The shantytown dweller is not being provided with work or with any chance of getting out of the shantytown.

[Sa Correa] Is that the outcome of the lost decade?

[Simonsen] The problem with our lost decade is that it is lasting more than 10 years. Incomes have stagnated since 1980. At first, that could be blamed on international difficulties, the oil crisis, and the debt crisis. But for the past eight years at least, the crisis has become a domestic one. The foreign debt is currently a negligible problem. On the other hand, the domestic debt has become a dragon, not so much because it is large but because domestic credit is limited. Dollars can be borrowed abroad at LIBOR [London Interbank Offered Rate] plus 5 or 6 percent per year. Here the cost is the TR [Reference Interest Rate] plus 30 percent per year. For our indebted government, cruzeiros are more expensive than dollars. So the best thing it can do is sell some of its firms and amortize the domestic debt.

[Sa Correa] What were the biggest Brazilian mistakes of the decade?

[Simonsen] There were four: the Computer Law, the Cruzado Plan, the 1988 Constitution, and the Collor Plan. If I had to exclude one, it would be the Cruzado Plan, because it and the Collor Plan are more or less the same thing. The Collor Plan is a degenerate cousin of the Cruzado Plan.

[Sa Correa] Did anything go right?

[Simonsen] There was considerable progress in the political area. Whether right or wrong, this is the first time that an impeachment is being carried out legally, without guns in the street. But that is not enough to make the country grow. India has been democratic ever since it became independent, but its per capita income is only $300.

[Sa Correa] How much time would it take to fix Brazil?

[Simonsen] Two years. If it made the necessary adjustments, Brazil would need about two years to start up again at a rate of, let us say, 7 percent per year.

[Sa Correa] Two years are precisely how long the Itamar administration will last.

[Simonsen] But they are not likely to be the two years I was talking about. Because of the circumstances in which he took office, Itamar has put together an administration that is not the right one for making adjustments. He has had to assure himself of the broadest possible political support. In his case, that is understandable. But it makes action impossible.

[Sa Correa] So Brazil is going to lose two more years?

[Simonsen] Probably so. But they will not be the last two years for the streetcar of history. It comes by often. Two years from now, the opportunities may be more or less the same. The trouble is that Brazil has missed a great many streetcars. It is too jealous of its reputation as the country of the future.

[Sa Correa] Can we expect nothing from this administration?

[Simonsen] Why should we not? The mood in the country has already changed, has it not? Its government is not likely to do what is necessary, but neither is it likely to cause disasters. It is probable that there will be a slight lessening of the recession. Morale will make some headway in public administration. All because of Itamar's likable stance. But mainly because when he took office, he stated what he did not intend to do: no unorthodox shocks, freezes, or confiscations. That calmed Brazilians and especially businessmen, who feared some extravagant action.

[Sa Correa] Does that replace a government program?

[Simonsen] It is very important. It is obvious that if, in addition to his word, the country had a constitutional ban on measures such as confiscations or freezes, that would be better. The Brazilian spends his day afraid of being held up, losing his job, or being crippled in a public hospital and, at the same time, expecting the government to play some trick on him. It would be a relief if the government eliminated at least that from his agenda.

[Sa Correa] So things have improved under Itamar?

[Simonsen] What has improved is the mood. Things are still the same. To breathe easy with inflation running at 25 percent per month, a Brazilian must like inflation a lot. Inflation, be it said in passing, is one of the nation's principal activities. There are lots of people earning a living from jobs generated or fueled in part by inflation. I may be one of them. Jokingly, it can be calculated that 5 percent of the Brazilian labor force makes its living that way—in oversized accounting departments, for example. The financial system accounts for 13 percent of GDP. Without inflation, the figure would be 5 or 6 percent. We would be much more productive if we were all planting potatoes.

[Sa Correa] What good does it do for the president to consult various economists?

[Simonsen] They are always useful to some extent. The main thing is that for a certain period, the economist who is being consulted does not criticize the government.

[Sa Correa] Will you be talking to the government?

[Simonsen] I have not been invited, and I have a trip planned. If I were invited, perhaps I would have to take my collection of articles.

[Sa Correa] Could you not take your experience in three administrations?

[Simonsen] It was two and a half administrations. One very important thing to be learned when one is in government, or out of it, is that one should not be thinking of one thing when it is time to resolve something else. One must be able to keep one's mind in order. And turn it off when the time comes to sleep. The only thing that kept me awake when I was a minister was the cost of living. And that at a time when 3 percent was a

disaster and a morale killer. Generally speaking, most of the things that governments do serve no purpose at all except to make the government itself feel that it is overworking itself.

[Sa Correa] If that is true, what are governments good for?

[Simonsen] Do you want to know one thing that it would make complete sense for the government to do? That would be to create a currency that Brazilians would take seriously. Everybody except Brazil and Russia has a currency. I am convinced that one of the worst things to have happened to the civilian governments between 1985 and now is their failure to realize that state intervention must be in inverse proportion to democratic freedoms. In a centralized regime, you can have a more efficient and therefore more ambitious state. In a democracy, political pressures on the administrative machinery become excessive and it does not function. The European countries realized that in the 1980's. Look at Spain: Generalissimo Franco was on the extreme right, and Felipe Gonzalez is on the left, but it was Felipe Gonzalez who privatized.

[Sa Correa] In your lectures abroad, do you notice much ill will toward Brazil?

[Simonsen] It has been five years since I accepted a speaking engagement abroad on the subject of the Brazilian economy. I only know how to criticize Brazil in Portuguese.

* Polls, Debate Focus on Parliamentary Model

* Preference for Parliamentarism

93SM0136A Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 24 Jan 93 p 3

[Text] Almost half of Rio de Janeiro's residents [cariocas], and most of the people in the city of Sao Paulo [paulistanos], prefer the parliamentary system of government, according to a poll taken by INFOGLOBO Market and Opinion Data. And, while they believe that Congress should be strengthened, the majority (65 percent) favor dissolution of Congress, followed by new general elections, in order to overcome government crises.

If the parliamentary system is adopted, would you favor dissolution of Congress in order to overcome government crises?

	Rio de Janeiro	Sao Paulo
Yes	65.17%	63.89%
No	30.5%	34.44%
Don't know/didn't answer	4.33%	1.67%

Respectively, 44.83 percent and 53.74 percent of respondents in greater Rio and in Sao Paulo said parliamentarism is the best system of government. Comparing these results with a similar survey taken last year, we find that the preference for parliamentarism has remained virtually unchanged in Rio (46.78 percent compared with 44.83 percent). In Sao Paulo, that preference grew from 38.95 percent to 53.74 percent.

More than a third of the people surveyed in Rio (39.17 percent) are fans of the presidential system, but in Sao Paulo that contingent is smaller (31.95 percent). In relation to the 1992 survey, the presidentialist group rose from 30.96 percent to 39.17 percent in Rio and from 23.14 percent to 31.95 percent in Sao Paulo.

System of Government Preferences, 1992 and 1993 Polls

	Rio de Janeiro		Sao Paulo	
	1992	1993	1992	1993
Presidential system	30.96%	39.17%	23.24%	31.95%
Parliamentary system	46.79%	44.83%	38.95%	53.74%
Other systems	22.25%	16%	37.80%	14.31%

The poll shows that 60.33 percent of respondents in Rio and 70.05 percent in Sao Paulo know what the parliamentary system is. Last year's survey indicated that less than half the cariocas (47.02 percent) and less than a third of the paulistanos (30.65 percent) could accurately describe the Cabinet regime.

Although there are differences in the levels of preference for parliamentarism between Rio and Sao Paulo, the poll shows that the desire for a stronger Congress prevails among cariocas (58.83 percent) and paulistanos (63.23 percent).

Which would you prefer to be stronger?

	Rio de Janeiro	Sao Paulo
The Congress	58.83%	63.23%
The President	37.83%	33.44%
Don't know/didn't answer	3.34%	3.33%

Direct Election Preferred

The INFOGLOBO poll found that the great majority of those surveyed in both Rio and Sao Paulo prefer that the

president of the Republic continue to be chosen by direct election, in the event that the parliamentary system were to be adopted. That was the option selected by 84.50 percent of cariocas and 82.20 percent of paulistanos.

Should Elections Be Direct?*

	Rio de Janeiro	Sao Paulo
Yes	84.50%	82.20%
No	14.17%	17.14%
Don't know/didn't answer	1.33%	0.66%

*Question asked concerning the election of the president in the event the parliamentary system is adopted.

When asked for a spontaneous response, the overwhelming majority were unable to say who would be a good prime minister. The man mentioned most often in Rio was Lula [Luiz Ignacio Lula da Silva], with 4.67 percent, and in Sao Paulo, it was toucano [PSDB-Brazilian Social Democracy Party] Senator Mario Covas, named by 8.49 percent.

Who would be a good prime minister?

	Rio de Janeiro	Sao Paulo
Marcello Alencar	1%	
Amaral Neto	1.33%	
Antonio Brito	1.17%	0.83%
Brizola	2.67%	
Mario Covas	2.83%	8.49%
Itamar Franco	1.5%	1.16%
Roberto Freire	2.83%	2%
Lula	4.67%	4.83%
Paulo Maluf	1.33%	6.66%
Silvio Santos	1.5%	1%
None of them/no one	8%	14.98%
Others	19.50%	28.62%
Don't know/didn't answer	51.67%	31.43%

In the event the monarchy is restored, the respondents recognize the rights of the Brazilian imperial family to return to the throne. Both in Rio and in Sao Paulo, respondents indicated that the names of the king, queen, emperor, and empress should come out of the Braganca family.

Poll Methodology

The INFOGLOBO survey was taken in Rio on 13 January and in Sao Paulo on 15 and 16 January. In each city, pollsters talked to 600 people of both sexes, ages 16 to over 70, having different educational backgrounds.

Covas: Candidate Under Either System

The most popular figure in the PSDB, Senator Mario Covas, has taken over leadership of the party in the Senate and his star is rising as a potential alternative to Tasso Jereissati to run for the presidency or, if parliamentarism is approved in the upcoming plebiscite, to occupy the post of prime minister. In the latter case, he would compete with Foreign Minister Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who is getting ready to run for the Chamber.

But Covas, as Ulysses Guimaraes acknowledged even though they were adversaries, always greatly resembled the late deputy. And his friends admit that, as was the case with Ulysses, the senator has an uncanny ability to rebound politically when least expected. Like Ulysses, Covas was also a supporter of the presidential system who converted to parliamentarism. However, he did so sooner than Ulysses did, in order to found a party whose platform includes advocacy of that system of government.

Covas, as his opponents within the PSDB acknowledge, is much stronger electorally than is Jereissati, who still is not well-known nationally. But in Congress, his style—which he himself admits is stubborn—puts him to at disadvantage to Cardoso, who is politically more accessible and so moves more easily in those circles. Covas's biggest problem is that, like Lula's PT [Workers Party], the PSDB is a long way from having a majority in the Congress.

Obstacles In Lula's Path

The political future of PT President Luis Inacio Lula da Silva is directly tied to what the party decides to do about former Sao Paulo Mayor Luiza Erundina, whom

Itamar has chosen for a Cabinet post—and especially to the results of the plebiscite on the system of government.

Erundina has emerged as the principal counterpoint to Lula's leadership of the PT precisely when the party was starting to review its ideological theses. She freed herself of the so-called radical groups, as well as from the results of an administration about which even her opponents have some good things to say. She won adherents and began to represent a viable alternative presidential candidate under the current system of government. After some clashes and an exchange of accusations in the press before the invitation had been formalized, Lula and Erundina have split. If the former mayor has to leave the party in order to assume the post of minister, Lula will have recovered some lost ground within the PT.

The PT president considers it too soon to divulge his campaign platform before the plebiscite is held. And he refuses to discuss the system of government until the party has held its meeting to decide what position the PT will take in the campaign of presidentialism vs. parliamentarism.

Two Candidates for Throne

Two candidates within the Orleans and Braganca lineage are vying for the Brazilian throne, in case the monarchy is restored. Openly campaigning is Dom Luis de Orleans and Braganca, 54, grandson of Dom Luis, who was the second son of Princess Isabel and Count D'Eu. Dom Luis became the head of the Brazilian Imperial House after his brother, Dom Pedro Alcantara, the princess's firstborn, renounced his claim in 1908 in order to marry a commoner. Dom Joao Henrique, 38, the grandson of Dom Pedro Alcantara, who does not publicly admit that he is a candidate, argues that the Congress should interrogate the members of the royal family and then choose the monarch.

Dom Bertrand, brother of Dom Luis and acting as his spokesman, insists that the throne belongs to Dom Luis. According to him, the renunciation, based on universal law, is a unilateral and irrevocable act that does not require ratification. The question was never raised while Dom Pedro Alcantara was alive but after his death, according to Dom Bertrand, his son Dom Pedro Gastao declared he acknowledged his father's renunciation.

The Petropolis wing of the family, of which Dom Pedro Gastao is a member, challenges the letter of renunciation and argues that political law prevails over dynastic law. Hence the interrogation. Dom Bertrand says this would conflict with the monarchic system of government and amount to an indirect election.

In the eyes of the Petropolis wing, the Vassouras wing of which Dom Luis is a member is extremist and connected to the TFP [Tradition, Family, and Property], whereas the chief of state should be nonpartisan. Dom Bertrand refutes this by saying that his membership in the TFP is just like his membership in the OAB [Brazilian Bar Association], and that he is proud of it.

* Debate Explores Systems

93SM0136B Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 24 Jan 93 pp 1-13

[Text] In a debate sponsored by FOLHA DE SAO PAULO, the presidentialists showed that they plan to exploit to the utmost what they consider to be one of the main obstacles to adoption of parliamentarism: the fact that a president elected directly by the public would have to coexist with a prime minister chosen by the Chamber of Deputies. The parliamentarists countered that the presidential system of government is authoritarian and rather inflexible, since it makes no provision for exchanging an incompetent or inoperable government prior to the end of its mandate.

"With a directly elected president and a prime minister chosen by 300 or 350 legislators, conflict would break out the very next day," said Pernambuco Senator Marco Maciel (PFL) [Liberal Front Party], coordinator of the Presidentialist Front. "Under the presidential system, the general public's role in politics is limited to the day of the elections," said the chairman of the Ulysses Guimaraes Parliamentarist Front, Parana Senator Jose Richa (PSDB) [Brazilian Social Democracy Party].

Several times in the debate, the parliamentarists stressed the flexibility of the system. According to representatives of the group, a government that is unsuccessful in implementing a viable program, capable of rallying the majority of the Chamber, would be replaced without danger of trauma or institutional upheaval. The problem, as the presidentialists see it, is that the substitution would be decided by the deputies, not the voters, which would reinforce the practice of the politics of self-interest [fisiologismo].

Impeachment

The impeachment of President Fernando Collor de Mello was analyzed at length during the three-hour debate. To the presidentialists, it was confirmation that the system had created mechanisms for protecting and expanding democracy in this country. The impeachment process, they said, reinvigorated the presidential system, rather than resulting in the institutional crisis that some had believed would inevitably occur.

To historian Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, it is important not to lose sight of the "presidentialist dynamic" which, he said, has been responsible for the "democratization of this country."

The parliamentarists vehemently attacked that line of reasoning. They said that impeachment is an exception, something that occurs only under a worst-case scenario, when the president of the Republic commits a crime. The measure could not be used to oust an administration that is unable to offer solutions for crises but stays within the law. According to political scientist Bolivar Lamounier, the impeachment process "simply unleashed an institutional crisis that dragged on for months." He termed the process yet another

piece of evidence that the presidential system is unsuited and unprepared, from the institutional standpoint, to deal with crises of governability.

Plans

There was no lack of criticism for the plans advanced by each front. The presidentialists pointed out that the proposal for the states had not been made clear. If parliamentarism is approved in the 21 April plebiscite, would the states also adopt that system? The parliamentarist group replied that the text clearly calls for implantation in the state governments beginning in 1999. Furthermore, they criticized Senator Maciel's plan, which calls for Senate ratification of presidential Cabinet appointments and especially the idea of allowing the Chamber to use the mechanism of a "motion to censure" against ministers. The president, said the parliamentarists, would become a hostage of Congress.

The regional imbalance that now exists in the Chamber was a secondary theme in the debate. One sign that the discussion in Congress will be difficult came when Senator Marco Maciel said that the topic should be postponed for the constitutional revision, scheduled for October. He said he has no firm position on the subject, but neither did he commit himself to support modification of the present structure.

Direct Elections

One of the most controversial issues is the direct election of the president of the Republic. Presidentialists argue that, under the parliamentary system, there will be a conflict between the branches of government. Parliamentarists say the president will be "the guardian" of the nation, the possessor of "imperial powers," and the "easy prey of the politics of self-interest." Here is what participants said on the subject:

- **Vladimir Palmeira**: "We are not going to accept imitations: this farce of a mixed regime in which the president of the Republic is elected directly but the head of government is not elected. Under parliamentarism, a chief of state is elected with ambiguous functions, and it does not take much to figure out what kind of results that would have in a country that is still politically unstable, like ours is. We must be so naive as to import models that function well, albeit not without difficulties, in European countries. The legislatures there acquired strength and legitimacy by setting themselves against the absolute powers of the monarchs."
- **Jose Serra**: "There is a paradox in the presidential system. Someone who is nearly an absolute monarch is elected for five years, but you have a weak government with very little ability to implement consistent economic and social politics. At the beginning of his term, the president has imperial powers but at the end, after fighting so many political battles, the president becomes the easy prey of the politics of self-interest. We are too dependent on a someone who can only be replaced every five years."
- **Bolivar Lamounier**: "In lacerated societies of Latin America, the two-round election, given the 'all or nothing' stakes inherent in the presidential system, creates more and more radicalization. We hand the presidency to an official who is unlikely to be able to govern because he is in constant confrontation with the Congress, either because he has a minority in the legislature, or because he has created extremely serious rifts, even from the psychological and emotional standpoint, with his opponents and with the general public."
- **Marco Maciel**: "The parliamentarist proposal makes it possible to choose a head of government and his cabinet while, at the same time, holding direct elections for president of the Republic. We know that conflict will break out the very next day: the president could emerge from the next elections with more than 50 million votes and then we would place him, after an outstanding election campaign, in direct conflict with a cabinet that was chosen by 300, or 350, legislators. What is being suggested is a blueprint for crisis."
- **Jose Richa**: "Obviously, under the presidential system, the general public's role in politics is limited to the day of the elections, or, as people in the interior often say, 'politics day.' Politics, to the average voter, is election day, that is all. And that is what we need to change."

Flexibility of the System

During the FOLHA-sponsored debate, one of the main topics of discussion was the flexibility of each system of government, the possibilities that each option affords for solution of the problems of government:

- **Vladimir Palmeira**: "Flexibility is one of the myths of parliamentarism. I love to listen to our parliamentarists say: 'We can change the prime minister at any time.' Well, who is this 'we'? The common people? No, the deputies. Then there is this story that when there is an impasse, you consult the people. But that is when popularity ratings are high. Madame Thatcher spent more than 11 years perpetuating herself in the Executive Branch, which manipulates the timing of the elections. If the Americans were parliamentarists, Bush would still be there, because he would have held elections right after the war with Iraq."
- **Jose Serra**: "This issue of changing the government is extremely important. The presidential system has no tools to accomplish that. It is childish to say that impeachment is an instrument that affords flexibility. Obviously it is not, because impeachment can be used only when a crime has been committed, not when a government's program fails. As for the length of the government mandate, if it is competent, what would be wrong with having it stay in power for 10 years?"
- **Bolivar Lamounier**: "It is typical of the presidentialists to say, when there's a two-week discontinuity in Italy, that there is an amazing instability, that Italy is on the brink of collapse. When a Collor situation develops in Brazil, they call it an accident. When the Sarney government became weak and defenseless, that was an accident."

- **Jose Richa**: "Under parliamentarism, if the government is competent and honest, it stays. If it is lazy, incompetent, and dishonest, out it goes."
- **Marco Maciel**: "A lot of dictatorships have grown out of parliamentarist governments. How did Hitler come to power? How did Salazar come to power? He was prime minister. How did the so-called dictatorships of Eastern Europe come to power? They came from systems that had a parliamentarist bias."

Politics of Self-Interest

Two issues were raised at various points in the debate. Which system most fosters the emergence of fisiologismo, political practices that put personal interests above the priorities of the country? And what would relations between the states and the federal government be like if parliamentarism is adopted? Would the state governors have more clout than the prime minister, thereby creating a conflict between the spheres of power?

- **Jose Serra**: "The presidential system has promoted, and continues to promote fisiologismo as a means of its own survival, because that is the medium of exchange with an executive who is institutionally divorced from the legislative branch. This tends not to happen under parliamentarism, since the discussion always centers on government programs."
- **Vladimir Palmeira**: "Under a regime where the branches of government are independent of each other we have to negotiate, and that is an advantage. If it slips into clientelism, it will also do so under the parliamentary system. It is obvious that independence between the two powers can lead to bargaining, but it also leads to negotiation. Sometimes I am afraid of this democracy of consensus being touted by the parliamentarists. When the Centrao [Broad Center Coalition] began to use its steamroller during the Constituent assembly, they said that majorities do not discuss, majorities vote. That kind of arrogance tends to be accentuated under parliamentarism."
- **Jose Richa**: "Under the presidential system, the government is strong as regards politics of self-interest, but absolutely impotent when it comes to solving major national questions. The presidential system is fueled by fisiologismo. It has to centralize the power so that it can distribute largesse. Otherwise it cannot hammer out a majority in the legislature. There is no coresponsibility. Under the parliamentary system, there is harmony among the branches of government."
- **Marco Maciel**: "We have been talking about corrupt governments, and I want to say that these can emerge under either the presidential or parliamentary systems. I would remind you that in Japan, a country that adopted parliamentarism a long time ago, we see ministers of state being sent to jail for corruption. That also happens in Korea, in Singapore, in a lot of places. There is another important issue. Implanting parliamentarism at the national level while keeping the direct election of the leaders at the state level is tantamount to saying that we will have state governors who will be in a position to destabilize the prime minister. We will have governors who are stronger than the prime minister."
- **Jose Serra**: "The observation about the governors is an important one. But we want to bring parliamentarism to the states too, and the parliamentarist amendment calls for that. It is scheduled for 1999."

Representation in the Chamber

Sao Paulo is under-represented in the Chamber of Deputies. But proposals for correcting this imbalance meet resistance in Congress, mainly from the delegations from the less populous regions. Here are some of the comments:

- **Jose Serra**: "It can be demonstrated that the distortions in regional representation are just as bad under the presidential system as under parliamentarism."
- **Bolivar Lamounier**: "If the presidential system were approved, there would be a danger of a change, a very serious one. The day after the approval of the Lucena (presidentialist) amendment in the Constituent Assembly, the Osvaldo Coelho (Pernambuco) amendment was put to a vote. The latter called for a federative vote, which involved weighting the direct presidential election. Sao Paulo's votes would then be worth only a fraction of what they are worth, just as is now the case in the Chamber of Deputies. The measure lost by only a few votes. The majority of those who now back the presidential system and the people who were most enthusiastic about the Lucena amendment voted in favor of that weighting."
- **Luiz Felipe de Alencastro**: "The issue of the underrepresentation of Sao Paulo State is extremely serious since, under parliamentarism, the Executive comes from the Congress and not from a presidential election. The Supreme Court did not want to resolve that issue. The Congress is the one that resolves it. Evidently, the list of people who are unconvinced that Sao Paulo should have equal representation does not contain only names from the conservative parties."
- **Marco Maciel**: "I feel very comfortable raising this question because we are going to find out that the problem is not the Northeast, which is not overrepresented. My own state might even gain a seat. The problem is in the North and the West Central regions. It has to be brought up during the constitutional revision. I believe we need to find a way, under either system. The situation could be more acute under parliamentarism. I have not developed a proposal yet. But there will be time for that during the revision."

Results of Latest DataFolha Poll on the Plebiscite
Voter Intentions, Prompted, Single-Choice

Parliamentary system	38%
Presidential system	35%
Don't know	25%
Neither	1%
Other responses	1%

* Poll taken on 15 and 16 December 1992 in 122 cities in Brazil.

Knowledge About Systems of Government

	Knows difference between the systems/has the right idea	Can define only one/has accurate notions of one of the systems	Cannot tell the difference/has mistaken notions of both
Parliamentary system	58	47	31
Presidential system	37	38	35
Other responses	-	1	0
Neither	0	1	2
Don't know	5	14	32

* Poll taken on 15 and 16 December 1992 in 122 cities in Brazil.

Support For the Proposals

	Senators	Federal Deputies
The presidentialists say they have the support of	15	80
The parliamentarists say they have the support of	48	270

[Box, p 1-13]

Guide to the Plebiscite

- *Presidential System:* This is the system that combines the powers of the chief of state and head of government in one person. The president is elected by universal suffrage, either direct or indirect. His government is monitored by the legislature.
- *Parliamentary System:* This is the system in which the head of government is chosen by the Parliament. The government is formed by the party, or coalition, that has the majority of the legislators and is dissolved when the prime minister loses the majority.
- *Monarchy:* This is the form of government in which a king, who ascends to the throne by hereditary right, represents the nation on the international scene. Usually, a prime minister runs the government.
- *Republic:* Under this form of government, the chief of state is elected from time to time by the majority of the population, directly or indirectly. In republics, the government can be exercised either by the president or by a prime minister.

* Disadvantages of Privatization Decree Viewed

93SM0125A Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 27 Jan 93 pp 18-19

[Article: "At the Pace of a Mexican Soap Opera"]

[Text] *For the purpose of preserving morality, Itamar has issued a decree making privatization difficult.*

The neonationalizers are celebrating. Last Tuesday President Itamar Franco signed a decree regulating the sale of government-owned firms, and it is going to change the way the process works. Under the terms of the decree, Itamar is given the power to fix the amount of cash to be required in each sale. He will also be able to suspend any auction at any time. The pension funds of government-owned firms have been banned from participating in the bidding for firms, and foreign investors will be able to purchase up to 100 percent of a firm from the government—but only if so authorized by Congress, which will examine each case separately (a process that can take months). As the late Chacrinha used to say about himself, the new table of the law has confused things.

The objective is to improve the moral standard. The result is predictable. "Privatization has turned into a Mexican soap opera," comments Deputy Antonio Delfim Netto. "Unlike Brazilian soap operas, the Mexican ones have a moral at the end of the story, but it takes them 400 episodes to get to it." The country is going to follow every episode and try to guess the outcome. The expectation is that everything will become entangled in unending indecisiveness. It is a pity that those obstacles have been placed in the way of denationalization. The Federal Government is broke and has an infinite number of problems to solve in the social area, but it is insisting on managing businesses that would be handled much better under the control of the private sector.

Brazil has 159 firms belonging to the Federal Government. The assets of those firms are formidable: 50 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP). Their debt of $81.3 billion is also magnificent. As a business owner, the state does many things. It owns gold mines, oil wells, banks, and plants manufacturing rockets, fertilizer, aircraft, and gunpowder. Concerning the bulk of that mass of government-owned firms, there is a common opinion in the country. They are unproductive, swollen with employees, and pay little money into the National Treasury. And that is when they are not gulping down appropriations that could be used for hospitals or schools.

The debate over the sale of those firms has been distorted by an artificial separation between those opposing and those supporting state economic activity. This is not a question of whether the state should play a tiny, medium-sized, or giant role in providing care for its citizens. In that area, it should get involved with all

possible strength. The problem is getting it out of the production of goods. "At this stage of the game, the government has other priorities. It cannot go on producing steel," says Luis Octavio da Motta Veiga, former president of Petrobras. "We need to build sewers in order to solve serious sanitation problems." Incidentally, this debate has been long in coming. Other countries have already debated the issue and decided to sell government-owned firms. Brazil may have been the last country to adopt a privatization program. On that score, it is losing to Mexico, Chile, Venezuela, Argentina, and Russia.

In places where the state has played its business role to the hilt—the former communist countries—we are now witnessing a race to bury that archaic production method. The former GDR has privatized 9,500 firms at a rate of 100 per week and is doing its best to sell the remaining 3,800. A few days ago, the German Government offered a shipyard free to any businessmen in that sector—from any country—who were willing to resurrect it. Besides the shipyard, the Germans are giving money to the candidate willing to take the firm. China, a country that is still communist, is liquidating loss-making state-owned firms. Brazil has not reached that degree of refinement. The government is keeping its shipping company—Lloyd—even though Lloyd has only two ships for a contingent of 1,100 employees and lost $65 million last year.

Imperial power: According to available public opinion polls, Brazil wants to privatize its government-owned firms but is hesitating. Partly because Itamar has doubts about the process. And partly because of the suspicions aroused by the Collor administration concerning reform of the state. The decree that was signed last week has several disadvantages. "It was tailor-made to ensure that there is no privatization," says Professor Mario Henrique Simonsen. According to Simonsen, Itamar is behaving like the owner of an apartment that is coveted by many purchasers but who has no intention of selling the property. To discourage the deal, the owner sets an absurd price. "The president does not want to privatize, period," says Simonsen in conclusion.

The decree is defective in that it gives Itamar imperial power over the sale of any firm. The president will decide, on a case-by-case basis, how much cash the government will charge for its firms. It will be up to the president, and Congress, to grant a foreign investor permission to buy a controlling interest in a privatized government-owned firm. When all is said and done, article 12 sums up the spirit of the project. It gives Itamar power to "decide any matters related to the National Denationalization Program." This creates a difficulty for those who were interested in buying government-owned firms. They will go into the game knowing that the president may postpone or cancel an auction for any subjective reason whatever. "The decree has dramatically politicized an operation that ought to be resolved in a technical sphere," says former Minister Mailson da Nobrega.

As a result of this extreme centralization, the president has created a problem for himself. If the next few privatizations turn out right, all will be well. But if some irregularity occurs—something that can easily happen in any administration—the blame will rest with the final arbiter, and that is the president. "If a privatization goes right, Itamar will be handed palms. If it goes wrong, Itamar will get the cross," says Deputy Benito Gama, rapporteur for the tax adjustment bill.

Mistake: The decree may be illegal on two points. It has banned the pension funds of government-owned firms from taking part in the auctions. Under the previous rules, those funds could buy up to 15 percent of a government-owned firm's voting shares. Itamar has treated the funds as government agencies, whereas their legal status is that of private entities—and the president does not control private enterprise. Even Itamar's ministers realized the mistake. At a meeting at which they analyzed the final text of the decree, Ministers Paulo Haddad (Finance) and Mauricio Correa (Justice) opposed that provision. "The funds will overthrow that with a preliminary appeal," said Correa. Banning participation by the funds also reduces the amount of money available for buying government-owned firms. With resources totaling $18 billion, those funds are the largest investors in the market.

The other legal problem concerns the way the government wants to use the money obtained from the auctions. The decree stipulates that the cruzeiros must be applied, by order of priority, to science and technology programs, health, public safety, the environment, and reduction of the public debt. That looks like a fine provision, but it is absurd. An executive decree cannot determine how money collected for the Treasury shall be spent. Congress does that through its budget bill.

As a bureaucratic document, the decree is confused and lengthy. It has 64 articles and a plethora of sections, chapters, paragraphs, and subparagraphs. It includes such worthless vagaries as the one giving the employees of a government-owned firm going on the auction block the right to express an opinion—but only to express an opinion—on the minimum price that is set. It was made to order for Itamar Franco. Professor Edmar Bacha, an economist at the PUC [Pontifical Catholic University] in Rio de Janeiro, feels that the decree reflects the president's view of privatization. "He is behaving like the guardian of crown jewels that are being threatened by a gang of robbers. In other words, he must defend the castle—in this case the government-owned firms—from those plunderers," the professor says. President Itamar has good intentions with respect to various economic topics, but he gets confused in practice. He has the duty to do a good job of selling the firms belonging to the citizens and to do so at the best possible price. With his decree, he may not sell any.

New Rules

Power: The decree makes the process of selling each government-owned firm dependent on Itamar, who can

intervene at any time. Investors will face the possibility of a suspended process or last-minute decisions.

Notes: Public debt instruments still count as currency, but part of the payment will be in cash. The larger the percentage of cruzeiros required, the less interested investors will be.

Pension funds: By prohibiting the pension funds of government-owned firms from participating in the bidding, the government has excluded the biggest investors from the process. The price of the firms is bound to fall.

Employees: The government admits that there are government-owned firms with too many employees, but it is establishing rules to protect jobs in case a reduction is necessary.

Correction to Ministry To Reorganize Various Councils

PY2402215693

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "To Reorganize Various Councils," published in the 24 February Latin America DAILY REPORT, page 22:

Last paragraph, sentence three, make read: ...outlined by Confen. The National Council For the Rights of Children and Teenagers (Conanda) will resume... (correcting name)

Chile

Pinochet Remarks on Glacier Region Clarified

PY2302170093 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1000 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Text] The Army Public Relations Department has explained that the remarks by Army Commander in Chief General Augusto Pinochet—who said that the presence of settlers in the 11th region strengthened national sovereignty—referred exclusively to the construction of the southern highway.

According to the Army Public Relations Department, the remarks by Gen. Pinochet did not refer to the continental glacier zone, as this area is uninhabited.

Gen. Pinochet made these remarks during a visit to the 7th Division headquarters to observe the work done by the unit in the area.

It was reported that Gen. Pinochet will not refer to border issues, because these matters should be dealt with by the Foreign Ministry.

Colombia

Congress Debates Internal Disturbance Status

PA2402184993 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 1800 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] The Congress has just given the government the green light for what might be the conversion of the state of internal disturbance status into permanent law.

A few minutes ago, the Chamber of Representatives First Commission gave the government a full report on President Cesar Gaviria's reasons for issuing decrees under the state of internal disturbance. The first of these decrees was issued on 5 February, when the state of exception was extended for 90 days. This deadline ends on 5 May. The Constitution, however, empowers the president of the Republic to extend the state of internal disturbance one more time. Consequently, this status would be extended to 3 August. If Congress does not then approve as permanent law the bill the government will submit shortly, the state of internal disturbance will definitely be lifted.

The attorney general; the government, justice, and defense ministers; and the Chamber of Representatives First Commission are meeting at the Congress to conduct a plenary debate on whether or not the state of internal disturbance should be permanently established.

Minister Announces Higher Military Budget

PA2302145193 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Report by Raul Gutierrez]

[Text] War is war and that is why the government decided to strengthen its military against the guerrillas and terrorists. The Council of Ministers approved a multimillion peso budget for this plan, which will lead to the postponement of any negotiated solution.

In times in which some political and Catholic church sectors are hinting that the government should return to a dialogue with the guerrillas, the government is toughening its stance and is increasing the budget for the military and police forces by 140 billion pesos.

According to Defense Minister Rafael Pardo Rueda, we are talking about a reallocation of resources, not of new taxes.

[Begin Pardo recording] We want to give the country a new vision of security for the future. This security can only be achieved with a substantial increase in public forces as the government has done. [end recording]

There will be an addition of 8,000 men in the Army and the police. There will be seven countersubversive battalions, a military police battalion, 10 countersubversive companies, 100 rural police stations, 50 police stations for the protection of infrastructures, and eight intelligence networks.

[Begin Pardo recording] The strategy drafted by the government is to have sufficient public force presence in the entire national territory to fight all forms of violence. [end recording]

The strengthening of the state's defense and security systems shows the government will only return to the political negotiation table when it has attained sufficient military advantage over the guerrillas.

Search Operations for Pablo Escobar Continue

PA2502022693 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 1730 GMT 24 Feb 92

[Text] Just like any other war scenario, flares and infrared rays were used in the predawn search operation to capture Pablo Escobar, head of the Medellin cartel. Elite Army and police forces for the past 48 hours have been conducting one of the country's largest operations in southwest Antioquia Department, where Pablo Escobar Gaviria is thought to be hiding. At midday on 22 February, more than 1,000 men under the personal leadership of Army General Hernan Jose Guzman and Deputy Police Director Gen. Octavio Vargas Silva surrounded an area comprising Santa Barbara, La Pintada, and Bolombolo municipalities in search of the Medellin Cartel chief.

The search has intensified in the last few hours to include air support. Two Hercules C-130 airplanes at approximately 0400 [0900 GMT] dropped gigantic flares to illuminate the operation area. Vehicle movement in the area was strictly controlled, and possible exits from the ranches were blocked.

Meanwhile, troops raided several more ranches and properties belonging to alleged members of the Medellin Cartel using advanced military technology such as these night binoculars, which detect not only troop movement but the presence of other persons within a 500 meter radius. Paratroopers were expected to arrive at midday today to support the operation.

Interview With Defense Minister Pardo

PA2402132993 Santa Fe de Bogota Emisoras Caracol Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 23 Feb 93

[Interview with Defense Minister Rafael Pardo Rueda by Dario Arismendi and an unidentified reporter in the station's studios in Santa Fe de Bogota—live]

[Excerpts] [Arismendi] Last night the president announced in his radio and television speech that 160 billion pesos have been allocated for national security, with 140 billion pesos going toward strengthening the Colombian Armed Forces. Where will the money come from?

[Pardo] The Finance and Public Credit Ministry is examining the entire budget to redirect allocations that will not be implemented this year or for projects that may be postponed. The purpose is to give priority to investment in security, something the country needs so much and that requires very large sums of money.

[Arismendi] When will the money be spent, and how long will the spending continue?

[Pardo] The program the president announced should be fully operational by the middle of 1993 at the latest. In sum, the money will be put to work in the first half of 1993.

[Arismendi] Will part of the money be spent in 1994?

[Pardo] No. The 160 billion pesos will be added to the 1993 budget.

[Arismendi] How will the resources be spent?

[Pardo] Out of 160 billion pesos, a little over 15 billion will be spent to complete the program to develop the Republic's Prosecutor General's Office. Resources will be allocated for the Administrative Department of Security [DAS] and the Armed Forces. How will the resources for the Armed Forces be spent? In creating seven new counterinsurgency battalions, 14 special counterinsurgency companies, and one military police battalion that will be stationed in Medellin. In addition, the Air Force will have resources to maintain helicopters and airplanes at a level of readiness to support the counterinsurgency units. Investment in the Navy will mean an increase in the Naval Infantry's counterinsurgency units.

We will have eight new intelligence networks with special priority given to the oil zones and the protection of natural resources. The appropriate investment will be made in communications equipment.

[Arismendi] What can the country expect from the many millions— over 140 billion pesos— that will be invested this year and from the creation of seven new battalions, 14 counterinsurgency companies, a police battalion in Medellin, eight intelligence networks, and logistical and structural support to the Colombian Air Force?

[Pardo] The entire government and society in general are making huge efforts to move things ahead. They are trying to do in this year alone what would normally be done in the next two or three years.

[Arismendi] The idea is to ....

[Pardo, interrupting] We are trying to concentrate efforts to allocate to this year the resources for security that under normal conditions or regular programming investments are spent in a program over the course of three years. What is the government's objective? It wants the public force and the judicial investigative units to have sufficient capability to be present in all areas of the country. As the president said yesterday, the traditional way of facing public order problems in one region was to remove troops from one area and send them to the trouble spot To counter a high rate of kidnappings in Cordoba Department, we had to move troops who were protecting the pipeline and bring them to Cordoba. To

counter a subsequent wave of terrorist attacks on the pipeline, we had to remove troops from Cauca Department and take them to the pipeline. That strategy constitutes a reduction in the general troop strength of the Colombian public force. This effort, together with the three [words indistinct] plans the government has already implemented, brought about a substantial increase in troop strength that will allow us to handle various public order problems in different regions simultaneously . [passage omitted]

[Arismendi] What special factors prompted the government to implement this plan now and not before? Is the situation of security and violence in the country more serious or delicate now?

[Pardo] This plan is part of all the government's efforts. In 1991 it established a special tax, which was inappropriately but widely known as the war tax. Approximately 55 billion pesos were collected, which made it possible to hire approximately 5,000 policemen and to create new mobile brigades, 12 Antiextortion and Kidnapping Units [Unase], and 10 counterinsurgency companies. The program to increase the counterinsurgency units was expanded in 1992 to protect the energy-producing and mining regions. At the end of last year, nine counterinsurgency battalions were created; namely, the 16th Brigade for the Arauca and Casanare region. We established 17 infantry units for various areas of the country and created other Unase groups and the entire system of intelligence. We also provided resources for the national intelligence operations to obtain information, operate intelligence networks, and process information.

The measures the president announced yesterday are part of a program that began in 1991 and that has meant an approximate increase of 36,000 men in the Armed Forces. That figure may increase to approximately 55,000 more men in the Armed Forces and National Police by the middle of next year.

[Reporter] Minister, if the money will come from the budget and there will be no new taxes, please tell us what areas will be cut back and what legal procedures will be used to transfer money from one allocation to another?

[Pardo] The state of internal disturbance legally allows the procedure. What areas will be negatively affected by the measure? The Finance Ministry, with other ministries, is working on this. Let us say in general terms, however, that we will attempt to delay several infrastructure programs, which probably would not have been completed this year, and other programs that may be delayed without causing serious hardships in the country. For example, road construction programs will be carried out at a slower pace and the money allocated for them used for security.

The Finance Ministry is making the study and several government organizations are contributing in its endeavor. It is really an effort by the entire government. The defense and security sectors are obviously involved in the effort, but the entire government is working to find ways to shift resources to this program.

[Arismendi] Mr. Minister, in the past we frequently heard or read criticism of the military forces because the troops, especially those in combat zones, lacked adequate resources. Taking the role of the devil's advocate, we ask you if it is not preferable to improve conditions for the current troops instead of creating so many new companies, battalions, and war or, if you prefer, peace organizations?

[Pardo] Your question is very important. I believe we have to take into account that the government has organized its military expenses in a coherent and thorough manner. The government first looked at the situation of the public force members' personal services, wages, and well being. With congressional approval, the government established a wage increase program to be implemented over four years. The program has been being implemented over the past two years and the wage increases have been at least eight to 10 points over the inflation rate. The program will continue in the next three years.

The government then proceeded to study the public force's equipment. It had been a policy in Colombia to increase [words indistinct] but not to increment general expenses and, thus, the amount assigned to equipment for each soldier had decreased considerably. The government tackled the problem by increasing the general expenses allotment and this improved the equipment assigned to each soldier and policeman.

Our investment in the public forces with domestic or foreign loans is yet another of our concerns. Each investment we make in the next few years will obviously require that personnel be trained and that equipment be maintained. If we buy a truck this year, for example, we have to give it maintenance next year. This means we have to buy a new battery and tires.

In 1991, the government prepared a program called the five-year investment plan for the public forces. The program established the guidelines and priorities in allotting public resources to the Armed Forces and the police. The government five-year plan clearly defines how the investment in the public forces will be managed. It also establishes the amounts to be invested every year and ensures that resources will be available for this investment.

[Arismendi] Mr. Minister, we have been walking a tightrope in regard to the talks with the guerrillas and the terrorists. Sometimes we have only managed to defend ourselves. But in the past few years or, perhaps, in past decades we had not seen the government take such a firm stand on the matter. The government is no longer only acting defensively or doing nothing, but is attacking. Is it to be understood, based on the government's recent attitude and stance, that there will be no dialogue with the rebels? Is this a clear indication that there is no

possibility for dialogue and that the government's position is to attack rebels and drug traffickers?

[Pardo] The government has very clearly stated that there is no possibility for dialogue under the present conditions. We cannot believe, based on the situation, setting, and their lack of will, that a dialogue with the guerrilla makes any sense.

I would like to be more categorical in this regard. We require more resources in the area of security, whether or not there is peace with the guerrillas. We require more public force resources and we need more resources for the judicial system. We do not merely have a security problem produced by guerrilla terrorism. We also have to face common crime, drug traffickers, and other types of criminal organizations. Colombia requires several years of heavy investment in the area of security whether or not we hold a dialogue with the guerrillas. Conditions for a dialogue are not present now, but that has no relation to these investments. The country has recently seen that despite the peace attained with guerrilla groups, the areas continue to face public order problems because the state is not able to maintain enough judicial and public force officials in the area.

I would like to emphasize this point. I can give you the example of Uraba. You know very well, Dario, that two important public order phenomena occurred in this region two years ago. The largest guerrilla group in Uraba demobilized. It was the Popular Liberation Army [EPL]. A small group of 200 men remained in the area. The so-called paramilitary groups also laid down their weapons in this area of Cordoba Department. This means two organized, armed groups comprising more than 1,200 men demobilized in this region of Cordoba Department. What happened in Uraba? The 150 [number as heard] EPL dissidents who remained caused a bloodbath in Uraba.

So even though important elements of violence were demobilized, disorder continues in Uraba. Why? Because the government lacked the resources to maintain a greater presence in the region. That gives us a very clear picture of what the country needs, regardless of a dialogue with the guerrillas. It needs sufficient resources in the areas of justice and security. The only way to maintain a state presence is to enforce the law and justice everywhere.

The country's peace cannot depend on whether or not the guerrillas want peace. That cannot be. Colombians must not think this. Peace here requires that the state have the ability to be present in all regions and to remain there to preserve the state of law. [passage omitted]

[Arismendi] What conditions is the government imposing?

[Pardo] Why have the National Liberation Army [ELN] and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia [FARC] not seriously participated in a peace process in the last four or five years when other groups have done so? I believe the basic difference between the ELN and the EPL or the 19 April Movement [M-19] four or five years ago was that the neither the M-19 nor the EPL had sources of financing that could allow them to grow easily. They did not have financing based on coca plantations, drug trafficking activities, or extortion, as practiced by the ELN. Of the four guerrilla groups that existed six years ago, two made peace and two did not. There were no major political or ideological differences between the groups. The difference is that the FARC found a source of financing in the coca plantations. More than half of the FARC fronts are located in coca lands. There is not a coca or poppy plantation area in which a FARC group is not present. There is a direct relationship between easy money from this illegal activity and their intention to persist as an illegal group.

A similar situation is the ELN and its extortion activities in certain economic sectors. I believe the fact that they have found ways of making easy money through criminal activities has precluded them from joining the peace efforts. [passage omitted]

PEPES Burns Another Escober Hacienda

PA2402161693 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Text] Persecuted by Pablo Escobar [PEPES] set another of Escobar's properties on fire, this time in Fredonia municipality, Antioquia.

(?Antraqueli) is the fifth hacienda destroyed by PEPES in the past two weeks. On 23 February, several men armed with submachine guns arrived at the horse training farm and set it on fire.

The hacienda was registered under the name of Luz Elena Zavalas. The 15 men asked for Escobar and a group of young men who had stayed at the hacienda on 21 February. When the armed men could not find any of the persons they had asked for, they poured gasoline on the main house and set it on fire with a flare. The main house, the swimming pool area, and the recreational area were reduced to ashes.

The hacienda had been raided by the Army in 1990 during a search for Escobar entitled the Apocalypse II Operation. The damage to the hacienda has been estimated at 300 million pesos. The PEPES' attacks on properties and vehicles allegedly belonging to Escobar have caused losses estimated at over 6 billion pesos.

Report on Changes in Medellin Cartel Hierarchy

PA2302202093 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 1730 GMT 22 Feb 93

[Report by Marcela Duran]

[Text] When one of drug trafficker Pablo Escobar Gaviria's associates is either killed or decides to surrender, the military apparatus of his movement changes.

Police authorities are currently preparing a new organizational diagram of his remaining henchmen.

As usual Pablo Escobar Gaviria, alias "El Doctor" or "El Torcido," appears at the head of the Medellin Cartel hierarchy. He has four groups of paid assassins at his disposal.

The first group is headed by Juan Alberto Castano, alias "El Chopo." Castano in turn, has Freddy Gonzalez Franco, alias "Misterio," under his command. Gonzalez is brother to Otto Gonzalez, who already surrendered to the authorities. In addition, Gonzalez also directs Guillermo Diaz, alias "Nemo" or "Boliz," allegedly responsible for the car bomb in Santa Fe de Bogota; and Juan Carlos N., alias "Latino," who acts as Gonzalez's secretary. This first group is known as "Los Chapas."

"Arete" [Rafael Alzate Urquijo], one of Pablo Escobar's closest associates who recently surrendered, is replaced by the group headed by Dairo Cardozo alias "El Comanche." In turn, Cardozo works with a group of men identified by the aliases of "Terry," "El Tigre," and "Pelotera." The group headed by Arete continues to operate but is now, according to the authorities, headed by a man identified with the alias of "Conavi."

The last group was at one time headed by a man known as "Cuchillo" or "Pasarela," who is currently kidnapped. This group is currently headed by "Pasquin" or "Pascual."

According to the authorities, these groups are now responsible for murdering police officers, kidnappings, recovering drug trafficking debts, conducting car bomb attacks, and settling accounts for reasons such as treason.

Poll Shows People Want Popular Elections

PA2402221393 Santa Fe de Bogota Emisoras Caracol Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Excerpt] Radio Cadena Nacional received 4,390 telephone calls from people who wanted to answer the question asked on 22 and 23 February: Should presidential candidates be chosen by popular vote or in a party convention?

Note the results: In a poll of 4,390 persons, 89.9 percent favored electing presidential candidates by popular vote. Only 10.1 percent want candidates chosen by their respective parties in a convention. [passage omitted]

Ecuador

President Recovering After Successful Surgery

PA2502024293 Paris AFP in Spanish 0133 GMT 25 Feb 93

[Text] Quito, 24 Feb (AFP)—Ecuadoran President Sixto Duran-Ballen underwent a successful operation at noon on 24 February in Washington, D.C. the Presidential Palace Press Secretariat (Sepre) reported in Quito.

The operation lasted three hours, and the president is now in recovery "in perfect condition with normal vital signs," Sepre added in a communique issued this evening, which acting President Alberto Dahik confirmed.

The septuagenarian president is on the sixth floor of Sibley Hospital. He is accompanied by his wife, Josefina Villalobos, and his daughter, Alicia Duran-Ballen. The president underwent a decompressive laminectomy [laminectomia decomprensiva] on three spinal disks that had been causing him pain for the past two months, the communique added.

It also noted that Drs. Arthur Cobrine and Walter Abendshein, the surgeons who performed the operation, said the expected results were achieved thanks to the good health and vitality of the president, who "has reacted extremely well to the postoperative process."

Carlos Vera, information and tourism minister, said the recovery is going as scheduled; specifically, five days in Sibley Hospital and another five days in Washington convalescing. The president will then return to Ecuador, where he will rest for another 10 to 20 days before resuming the duties he assumed last 10 August.

Paraguay

Editorial Assails 'Rabid Anti-Colorados'

PY2402155493 Asuncion PATRIA in Spanish 23 Feb 93 p 6

[Editorial: "Summer Circus"]

[Text] As soon as a possible fragile solution to the Colorado Party internal conflict could be sensed, the already "famous" summer success "National Encounter" (built on the floating scheme of the Asuncion For All movement, which attained power in the municipality of Asuncion only to "disappoint" everyone by increasing municipal fees to incredible levels) openly demonstrated its ill intentions—designed simply to gain advantage—of usurping votes from a Colorado Party battered by internal disputes.

Incredibly, like an agitated wasp's nest, the "National Encounter" candidate came out in defense of the many dollars he had already spent, labeling his fat bank accounts "principles" and openly accusing the lemas bill submitted by the executive branch (which wishes to preserve the unrestricted participation of the public) of the dishonor of being "a constitutional coup d'etat."

Fishing in a sea of diaspora, "National Encounter," which aspires to victory through trampling on the remains of the internal disaster of the Colorado Party, suddenly saw its lowly objectives endangered by the implementation of a mechanism that could guarantee the total participation of the public in the elections.

This "affront" hit "National Encounter" right in the stomach along with its overbearing leader, whose well-known haughtiness ranges from arrogant resolutions to threats against congressmen who "dare" to contravene the objectives of "National Encounter."

He has now installed himself with his carnival-like troops in front of the national Congress building, with a torch that is kept alight supposedly in vigil for the national Constitution. In fact, this extremely active businessman (of a strict laissez-faire liberal-capitalist leaning) did not bother in the least to read the contents of the lemas bill sent by the executive branch to Congress, together with a list of motives which are convincing, clear, and above everything promote a democratic solution to the problem." [no opening quotation marks as published]

Yesterday, when the Senate began analyzing the draft bill, the "National Encounter" leader installed his mobile troops at the entrance to Congress, staging a great circus and unleashing an inconsequential clamor designed to be offensive and lowly, the expression of a totally vulgar mass of people lacking judgment: pure vulgar and ignorant fanaticism.

Such frivolousness hurled up against qualified members of Congress has no particular value in civic culture, being nothing but the lowly expression of mass disturbances. These are hot summer tempests fueled by a sector of the media which considers itself orthodox and patriotic, but is only brandishing a death warrant for the Colorado Party.

The rabid anti-Colorados have without a doubt extended their hooks, not failing to miss a single opportunity to tear apart the tissue of our vitality. They represent a sinister apparatus which we Colorados must unmask and put an end to. We never knew that freedom of the press meant to rob from the majority of the voters their right to continue governing the country, though it be under the pretext of alternate government with the denigrating sponsorship of imperialistic diplomatic representations.

The vote of the Colorado majority must be the most categorical response to these summer carnival fevers.

Paciello Discusses 'Civil War' Comments

PY2402213893 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 24 Feb 93 p 3

[Text] Commenting on the possibilities of a civil war in Paraguay, Justice and Labor Minister Oscar Paciello said this morning: "The solution is simple. In the face of a conflictive situation, there are two possibilities: a rational, peaceful solution or a violent one. We are doing our best to find a rational solution to this crisis."

A few days ago, Paciello spoke about "a democratic solution or a civil war." This resulted in a wave of criticism by the opposition. Paciello pointed out that "this sort of thing can be foreseen. We cannot play around with these possibilities. This is reality."

The justice minister emphasized that everything is being done to exactly prevent such a possibility. "Such a situation must be prevented. This is why we are proposing such a legal solution (the lemas law.) This is exactly why we are proposing it," he said.

Regarding the opposition's criticism that his comments were "nonsense," and "irrational and antidemocratic," Paciello said: "Of course. They certainly do not know history. Not even the United States could prevent such a thing. Why should we continue..."

We asked him clearly whether he believed in such a possibility. He answered: "Yes, I do. I won't say that we will have precisely this sort of problem (a civil war), but just imagine what will happen if 60 percent of the people do not participate in our national political life. There must be a solution and if there is no legal, legitimate solution to the problem—I won't say there will necessarily be a civil war—but there is serious risk of having a civil war in the country. We can have an increase in strikes, sabotage, such as in the case of the Tupamaros in Uruguay, in Argentina. Similar situations may occur when there is no institutional way of blocking the events. We must prevent this sort of thing to consolidate democracy. This is all I am saying."

The minister concluded that what is being discussed "is not Oscar Paciello, but the national situation." He said the lemas law does not harm anyone and is not unconstitutional.

Editorial Views 'Threat'

PY2402232393 Asuncion ULTIMA HORA in Spanish 24 Feb 93 p 12

[Editorial: "Inapplicable Statements by the Justice Minister"]

[Text] The statements made by Justice and Labor Minister Oscar Paciello, who said that if the Colorado Party internal crisis is not solved—failing to elect a presidential candidate—a civil war could break out, are not only unfortunate but they reveal an attitude of inconceivable threat in a minister.

We already said the lemas bill constitutes an open violation of our Constitution. Its submission to the Senate is due only to the fact that the Colorado leadership is incapable of finding true democratic and legal solutions to its problem.

Less than a year after it was sanctioned, there is an attempt to trample on the first Constitution drafted and approved in freedom in our history with the sole objective of maintaining the perverse logic that inspires part of the Colorado leadership: power at any cost. With this position they are demonstrating how many men who

occupy high positions in the party are close to the customs and practices used by the dictatorship overthrown four years ago.

The justice minister's statements must be considered pointing toward the interruption of the transition process within this context. His irresponsible statements come from an old totalitarian stock because they are based on the identification of the interests of a sector of the country (a party) with those of the whole nation. Paraguay is struggling with much effort to conquer increasingly broader spaces of freedom that require being safeguarded by a legal framework that must establish the rules of the game. The Constitution is the main axis of this legal framework. Its modification is equivalent to an institutional break.

Rather than covertly appealing to violence, what must be done in this sensitive moment is to find constitutional solutions to the unending Colorado crisis instead of making the rest of the sectors responsible for the lack of solutions.

The justice minister has made a mistake. A person with such a position must constitute an example of equanimity and good sense. If a justice minister threatens civil war, the situation may evidently become worse.

We are a little more than two months away from the 9 May elections. A definite commitment to successfully conclude the transition period, respecting the Constitution, is urgently required. The citizenry and the international community will not accept any authoritarian strategy that may attempt to make us return to the times of impunity and orders from above.

Democracy must be ensured. The only way to do so is by adapting the government and all its political agents to the Constitution's values and norms. We will not help democratize the country with threats of political violence or subverting the constitutional order. It will be done by respecting the Constitution and the principle of legal equality.

U.S. Examination of 'Horror Archives' Viewed

PY2402204493 Asuncion NOTICIAS in Spanish 24 Feb 93 pp 22, 23

[Text] Attorney General Luis Escobar Faella yesterday categorically said that they [not further specified] will not permit the participation of any U.S. official in the classification and microfilming of the horror archives. [Colorado Party Deputy] Sandino Gill Oporto and former political prisoners fear the participation of U.S. officials.

Sandino Gill Oporto, the chairman of the Chamber of Deputies' Human Rights Committee, and former political prisoners again yesterday held the North Americans responsible for the repression of political prisoners during the past regime.

These remarks were made yesterday during a news conference at Escobar Faella's office. Former political prisoners, including [Christian Democratic Party leader Luis] Alfonso Resck, participated in the news conference. Ramiro Barboza, who will conduct the microfilming, explained to Gill Oporto and the former political prisoners the existence of an agreement signed with the U.S. Embassy on the computerization of the judicial branch, etc.

Barboza added: "The funds were required to carry out this job because you want to preserve these documents in order to have all this well organized for life. Part of these funds were allocated to confront this new situation that has arisen. This is where the [U.S.] Embassy enters. We found out that this was the most appropriate channel."

For his part, Resck insisted on the participation of the former political prisoners in the classification and microfilming of the horror archives in order to prevent uninvolved people from removing any important document.

Gill Oporto said: "We feared that the presence of those U.S. officials would involve a threat of removal of key, essential documents that confirm that, when struggling against the Stroessnerist dictatorship, the Paraguayan people not only struggled against the local dictatorship, but against the assistance of the planet's leading power."

Gill Oporto noted: "We believe the presence of U.S. officials of any rank and under any circumstance represents a real threat of removal of those documents."

Ciudad del Este Police Officials Replaced

PY2402201093 Asuncion NOTICIAS in Spanish 24 Feb 93 p 13

[Report by correspondent Juan Carlos Salinas]

[Text] Ciudad del Este—The Interior Ministry yesterday designated a post commander who will replace the current local police authorities in the wake of various irregularities reported by people, especially the crime boom throughout the region.

General Police Commissioner Jose Manuel Maldonado was designated post commander. He will practically fulfill the functions of police chief because all police officials were automatically relieved from their posts. In fact, the ministerial resolution sets forth that the Government Delegation police personnel, except for the conscripts, will be completely replaced by Asuncion police personnel. The resolution was made in view of "the proliferation of crime in the 10th Department, Alto Parana, which has had effects at the national level, calling for preventive, investigative, and repressive action in order to preserve the life, integrity, security, freedom, and property of the people, and in order to preserve the rights of third parties and constitutional guarantees."

The resolution established that the facilities and equipment like weapons, vehicles, communications equipment, and other materials will be delivered and received under an inventory.

Delegates' Meeting

Simultaneously with installing the post commander, government delegates from throughout the country will hold a meeting. To this end, Interior Minister Hugo Estigarribia, Vice Minister Ruben Villalba Cataldi, and ministry Secretary General Enrique Riera (Jr.) arrived yesterday in this city. The main item on the meeting's agenda will be the work by delegations. Each delegate is expected to read a report on the work in his zone.

Subordinates' Concern

The report that all officials would be relieved from their posts caused great commotion yesterday. The government delegation has 250 prefects, deputy prefects, and sergeants, in addition to 11 contracted guards.

The lack of clear interpretation of the resolution gave rise to various rumors, including the massive dismissal of police officials.

Files Say Nazi Martin Bormann Died in Paraguay

PY2402235893 Asuncion NOTICIAS in Spanish 24 Feb 93 pp 8, 9

[Text] Martin Bormann, Hitler's deputy, close friend, and architect of the fuehrer's foreign policy, spent his last years in Paraguay. Bormann died after a long agony caused by stomach cancer. He was buried at night in the Ita cemetery, where he was taken after Joseph Mengele's medical care was unable to alleviate his malady.

The "Technical Affairs" archives undoubtedly represent one of the most complete compilations of national and international political scandals. The discovery of the document revealing the presence in Paraguay of Nazi war criminal Martin Bormann ruined all previous reports on the fate of Hitler's fearsome Foreign Ministry chief.

Even Simon Wiesenthal, the famous Nazi hunter, was mistaken about Bormann. Wiesenthal advocated that the fuehrer's close friend committed suicide in Berlin in 1945.

Nevertheless, a report sent on 24 August 1961 to Antonio Campos Alum, a former head of the Interior Ministry's fearsome department, notes that Bormann died of stomach cancer in 1959 and was buried in the Ita cemetery.

The document was signed by Pedro Prokopchuk, then Interior Ministry Foreign Affairs Division head.

Unknown Whereabouts

The whereabouts of Martin Bormann, a sinister brain in the German National Socialist Party who was sentenced to death in absentia by the Nuremberg Court, also remained obscure for many years. Until now, Wiesenthal's was the most credible report.

Nevertheless, the revealing document discovered in the National Directorate for Technical Affairs archives, currently in the hands of Judge Luis Maria Benitez Riera, contradicts Wiesenthal's report.

Paraguay 1956

The document signed by Prokopchuk includes a report drawn up by the West German Intelligence Service in Latin America, dated 29 April 1961, emphasizing that Bormann arrived in our country in 1956.

The document adds that Bormann lived for a long time on Alban Krug's property in Hohenau, and that Bormann died of stomach cancer on 15 February 1959 in Asuncion in the house of Werner Jung, the Paraguayan consul general in West Germany. Bormann was buried in the Ita cemetery on 17 February.

The report adds that present at the cemetery were the cemetery's custodian, the driver of the truck that carried the coffin, Werner Jung, and a man named Von Eckstein (who reportedly was the sinister Colonel Von Eckstein from the Stroessnerist era).

Mengele

In the "memo" sent to Campos Alum, Prokopchuk also gives details on Joseph Mengele. According to the document, the doctor, dubbed "the Angel of Death," arrived in our country in late 1958 "for the purpose of treatmenting the diseased Martin Bormann."

The document also stresses that Bormann lived at Jung's house under a false identity. Bormann was called "Don Fritz."

The document adds that, after receiving his citizenship papers, Bormann lived in Alto Parana Department. In conclusion, Prokopchuk's report notes: "After a forceful hunt by the Israeli Intelligence Service, Bormann changed his residence and his current whereabouts are unknown."

Peru

IMF Assembly Postpones Discussion on Plan

PA2402235393 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0000 GMT 24 Feb 93

[Monitored in progress]

[Text] ...the Peruvian case in the meeting to be held on 24 February and postponed it one month without approving the economic plan, a necessary and indispensable step for our county's reintegration. The news hit the members of the commission negotiating our foreign debt like a ton of bricks. As of yesterday, and despite existing doubts about whether a support group was going to be

created, the situation in Peru was certain to be discussed at the IMF assembly. The failure to reach an agreement with the IMF means Peru will have to wait until April for another opportunity to receive $1.4 billion over the next three years and to renegotiate our $22-billion foreign debt with the Paris Club. The IMF decision may have been influenced by the publication yesterday in the United States of the report entitled: Human Rights in Peru 1992.

The 28-page report drafted by the U.S. State Department describes the violence in Peru. Although the report admits that Shining Path is the worst human rights offender, being responsible for the death of 654 people, it also details 95 extrajudicial executions by government forces. The report also notes the disappearance of 30 Huanca students, 11 of whom were later found dead in that city. In addition, government forces conducted 3,330 arbitrary arrests, which were recorded by the International Red Cross.

Economy Minister Jorge Camet and Justice Minister Fernando Vega Santa Gadea made appointments to meet with U.S. Government officials and apprise them of President Alberto Fujimori's views. Fujimori was kept informed of the ministers' activities in Washington.

'Exclusive' Comments by Abimael Guzman

PY2402170493 Lima SI in Spanish 8 Feb 93 pp 1-8

["Transcribed excerpts" of an "exclusive" tape recording of Shining Path leader Abimael Guzman from a Dincote, Counterterrorism Directorate, cell in Lima "last September;" all quotation marks as published]

[Text]

My Beginnings

The beginnings in Arequipa where, as a middle-class child, he had access to formative books and witnessed the social struggles.

"In the mid-1950's, when I was a university student (in Arequipa), I slowly approached Marxism and I matured through witnessing struggles. For example, I was very impressed by the Arequipa uprising in 1950 (Guzman was born on 3 December 1934). The popular uprising against [General Manuel] Odria [who established a dictatorship on 29 October 1948]. Much blood was shed. The uprising was prompted by a strike by students of the Colegio Independencia secondary school.

All this and other things have marked me. During this forging class struggle, my mind was opening, controlled by my reading which was gradually drawing me closer. An important event must be mentioned. We all know that Stalin, a great Marxist-Leninist, died in 1953. This greatly shocked the world. At that time, we were formed by studying the books on Stalin. At that time, there were more books on Stalin than on Lenin—at reasonable prices. Questions About Leninism [Cuestiones del Leninismo], a thick, very well bound, and superbly translated volume, was sold at a very low price. It is an extremely important work. In 1956, there was another event in the international communist movement: Kruschev's famous address. This was a secret address to the (Soviet) Central Committee. Nevertheless, the following day it was published by newspapers around the world. Obviously, there was a cunning and dark leadership. All this had great repercussions. I was already very close to the party in Arequipa where all this story began. Some of us defended Stalin, even though little was known about his work and all his deeds in the great patriotic war against Nazi Germany. All this, and the construction of the first socialist state on Earth which we could feel and experience. Thus, we rejected Kruschev's sinister stance.

"In addition, as we all know, Kruschev's address was a bunch of adjectives, infamies, and words without any feeling. For example, saying "Ivan the Terrible," "sadistic," "madman," "the worst criminal on earth," and other monstrosities. Like this I matured. I admired Stalin. I repeat: He was a great Marxist-Leninist, a great man. This does not mean that he did not make mistakes. That is something else. This was how I approached and sought to become a Communist Party member.

"At that time, there was a trend in the University of Arequipa that allegedly championed the workers by propounding the odd tenet that only the children of workers could become Communist Party members. Obviously, this was a serious mistake. In fact, it was somewhat absurd. This situation prevented me from joining the party for a long time, maybe years, due to my social status as I was not the son of a worker. Nevertheless, I insisted on becoming a party member, and finally became one. I joined the party in Arequipa. I joined a cell of which I have pleasant memories as it was formed by both workers and intellectuals. I already had contacts and had worked with workers. Obviously, I began operating that way. This is rewarding. An iron spirit: This is the proletariat class. Pleasant memories. The intellectuals: What can I say about them? That they arrived and raised questions, but all they did was talk. It seems there are people for whom words are enough. They did not comply with the basic duties of that time. I am not talking about other activities."

"This is how I became a member. We all know that when people join the party they must choose a name. I chose the name of "Alvaro" because [Jose Carlos] Mariategui [a Marxist journalist-essayist frequently cited as the godfather of theoretical socialism in Peru] taught that Marxism must be expressed in Spanish. This is why I chose a Spanish name that cannot be found in other languages. There are many fantastic ideas about this name. It is such a waste of time. They are absurd. Ha, ha. It makes you laugh. I did not look hard for a name either. It is the name of a very important character in "Mio Cid" [epic Spanish literary work]. Things are often much

more simple than people, especially learned people, imagine. Well, that is their concern. That is their problem.

"My concern about school activities made me work for the organization committee. It helped a lot because I was able to notice a reality. There is a difference between what Marxism calls a party and what Marxism calls a state."

The Elections, a Great Surprise

The young communist immunized himself against democracy after observing the opportunism exercised by some fellow countrymen.

"I think the situations linked to the elections are significant factors. I was greatly surprised and deeply disappointed. I clearly rejected the way the people, including some marxists and even non-organized communists, behaved at electoral times. The principles dictate that those who are not organized can not be communists. Everybody was attracted by the elections, by the candidacies for deputies, senators. I could see repulsive electoral paraphernalia. This probably made me to reject the elections. I also witnessed how the strikes were negotiated. I saw the people who took to the streets to fight, and how the strikes were negotiated in the offices of corrupt lawyers.

"The problem of the Old Defense Front and the National Liberation Front were main issues at that time. I believe there were positive actions, like the defense of Peruvian wealth against U.S. imperialism—specifically against the International Petroleum. But the paraphernalia of petty politicians was too great. I met various characters. I reassert that it was repulsive because their main objective was not the revolution but to gain a seat in Congress."

The Peasants in Ayacucho

Guzman's impression on the critical social condition in Ayacucho was decisive in helping him to shape his Manichean viewpoint.

"My greatest and deepest need was to meet and discover the peasants in Ayacucho. Their reality shook my eyes and my mind. There are peasants in my township, but they are different from those of Ayacucho. The peasants from Ayacucho are very poor. They endure the oppressive semi-feudal burden. I saw people working as slaves on ranches, people who even had to provide their own food. I met people who had to walk tens of kilometers, taking their own food with them, to work. I saw the peasant's struggles and the strong repressions. I could sense the plight of the poor Peruvian peasants who have struggled and worked in the communities for centuries. But the centuries have not managed to exterminate them. They are vigorous and fight against all odds. They are the cornerstone of the land. I saw that the peasants are the cornerstone of Peru. There was a national student assembly (in Ayacucho) that I helped to organize until I was able to provide it with appropriate protection. It was then that I realized that people behave like buffaloes. Yet when someone confronts them they become very democratic. Elephants, mongols. [as published]

"Some peasants were killed in a zone of the Apurimac Department, Cocharcas District. This case was reported to Congress. The peasants asked for support in their struggle, which was a very fair and comprehensible move. What happened in the debate? Party members and national leaders, who acted as puppeteers, said: "Support could not be provided because to do so a resolution had to be issued against Belaunde's administration and if he were thus attacked, a coup d'etat could result."

The eternal cuckoo of the coup d'etat. As if they ever asked the people for permission or consulted them before perpetrating a coup d'etat! This matter is addressed at other levels. I think everybody understands it. I saw many struggles and dialectic debates but no longer with words. In the end they strongly imposed against the will of the great majority."

We Defeated the Peace Corps

This was the first victorious battle against a powerful enemy, which makes one feels strong and capable of great achievements.

"Youths are rebellious. If they were not this way they would not be youths. It is not bad for youths to rebel. It is right. It is right for their age, as a part of their maturity cycle. A youth who is not rebellious becomes aged. He is kicking cans. A youth has to be vigorous, strong, dynamic. He has to be a rebel for the sake of the future, and has to be a direct participant. Words can be easily crushed, no matter how right they may be. "I saw it there. We staged a strike in Ayacucho seeking to expel a female student who was a member of the Peace Corps, that is, the people sent by Kennedy. That person dared to slap another student in class. That was humiliating, was it not? It humiliated her classmates and offended Peruvians. There was a compact, combative strike organized to remove her.

Anyway, we managed to have her temporarily suspended from school while (the student's) congress was under way. What did we achieve? That after the congress we would hold a nationwide strike if the Peace Corps people did not leave the country. In the best sense of the word, I made a clean sweep. What happened? Well, they said: "It is not a good tactical move." We decided to discuss it later, in another meeting, on another date. We again raised our petition. We told them that it was the right time, that it was the end of the academic year. The fighting spirit displayed during the strike by the students, by the people, swept them away and forced them to leave the country. The U.S. Embassy and its henchmen did their utmost. They would have given anything: aid for the university, public apologies, just for one condition: That they were not forced to leave. What was going to happen if they had to? What would happen to their

prestige? They had never been kicked out of anywhere in the world. And yet, we achieved a great victory. We forced them to leave. Mr. David Scott Palmer, the man who gives interviews to the magazine CARETAS, was a leader of the Peace Corps in Peru. Therefore, he holds me in high esteem. It seems that he has not forgotten the incident, ha ha ha!"

The Red Faction

The group of staunch faithful followers, essential for the fulfillment of the goals, is established.

"The great controversy not only involved an historical issue but a decisive one for the party, especially for the Red Faction, for the formation of a true Communist Party, which until then did not exist.

"Even though we read about—and even devoured—the problems involving the (international) controversy, we never became detached from regional problems. The Ayacucho committee supported land invasions because we were involved in those actions. During the students congress, leaders from Lima held a meeting with the regional committee. Their agenda included two points: The nature of the Belaunde administration (during his first term in office) and peasant land invasions.

"Concerning the first point (they said): Why doesn't your committee agree with the party line that notes that the Belaunde administration represents the national bourgeoisie? They claimed that an alliance with it was appropriate. We said: "It represents a broad, but not a national, bourgeoisie, so there is an antagonistic struggle with it." They were unable to give us a reason. Even the figures were interesting. There were two or three national leaders from Lima. One of them dozed through the entire meeting..."

"The other point was: "Why do you support land invasions? Why are you promoting them?" We told them: If Belaunde approves the reforms, we will press on. We were told: "Belaunde does not approve of them because the people oppose them." In response to this, our reasoning was: "Land invasions must be promoted in order to break that opposition." I believe prudence is necessary, but it cannot become a restraint."

It Became Impossible to Remain in the Old Party

Guzman leaves the old Communist Party leadership, thus beginning his sectarian path.

"After participating in the internal struggle, which became antagonistic, it became impossible to remain in a single party, in the old party led by (Jorge) del Prado. The 4th National Conference was convened in January 1964. At this conference, Del Prado, Juan Barrio de Mendoza, and others were expelled. There were problems. At that conference, the participants were still saying that Belaunde represented the national bourgeoisie and that there was not a Mariategui line ...

"In my opinion, Ayacucho served in an extraordinary way, with great projections... At that time, we arrived at the conclusion that an armed force had to be formed during the 5th Conference (in 1965). Incidentally, in 1975 I visited China—the best political school on earth. This represents pride for a communist, pride at managing to receive such an extremely solid theory. This represents an indelible mark for me. I learned a lot. I have often said that the party is deeply indebted to the Chinese Communist Party. It has deeply marked us for ever... I had to return very quickly."

We Decided to Form a Special Group

He continues, now within the Maoist tendency, to build the sect.

After talking about his experience in the Communist Party of Peru [PCP], among the Maoist tendency headed by Saturnino Paredes, Abimael Guzman explains about the Red Faction, the organization he headed until he was captured.

We became tired. Who doesn't become tired of waiting. We decided to form a special work group. We did so in 1974 before travelling to China. I organized the group from the military, political, and logistic point of view. At this point we became stronger and realized that we needed "our own forces." We used our own money, and we worked....

"The party was one thing and the (Red) faction was another. The faction was a group of people that followed Lenin's guidelines, that is, those who accepted the full implementation of Marxism, the open struggle within the party. It would have been most unfortunate not to have done it. Different modalities within the whole apparatus wreak havoc with everything. That is a crime. We have never done such a thing."

They Accuse Me of Being a Trotskyist

Your detractors within Maoism itself label your intellectualism and factious character as Trotskyist.

"Even though it is said that I am a Trotskyist—when I first came to Lima I was told: In Arequipa, you are branded as a Trotskyist.—I have never been one. Some of my schoolmates must have been Trotskyists when I was a student in Arequipa. But it is not a plague that can be transmitted to other people...

"(After the 4th Congress) there were those who believed that the world would come to an end because they had decided to remain on the sidelines. The world did not collapse—heaven is always above, man! The earth will neither quake nor leave its orbit. One must not be misled by sham earthquakes. After all, what does it matter? During a real earthquake, houses fall down, we remove the rubble and carry on working. Above all, the faction believed: Our only concern is to set up a party, to organize a party. If the party is destroyed we will rebuild

it. If it is destroyed ten times we will rebuild it eleven, twelve times. It will always be like that.

"What did we propose? The party, the armed struggle, and the front. The three magic wands, as Mao used to called them. Replacing departmental committees with regional committees; giving up electoral districts in favor of the armed struggle that we, the party, had to undertake. The armed struggle would be the main concern of the party, around which everything would revolve, with a political section...

"As for the front, the problem lay in how to envisage it—whether it would be a class front or a front made up of parties. That damned obsession—a front made up of parties. What parties would we appeal to? But that is not the problem..."

The Struggle Against Saturnino [Paredes]

Abimael Guzman's contacts with the topmost leaders of Maoism during his successive visits to China and Albania enabled him to widen his contacts and reassert his ideology, which in turn helped him to defeat Saturnino Paredes and become the leader of the pure and select faction.

"That happened around 1966, or thereabouts." I do not remember the exact date. There was a meeting with the full political committee. At that time, I was the organization secretary. This meeting, like any other, opened with a debate on a main political document. What was the surprise? A very simple one—Belaunde had promised to introduce reforms. They just continued to spin yarns. A faction within the Belaunde administration, the one run by Edgardo Seoane, had proposed the reforms. The national bourgeoisie. Always the same old story. Obviously, most of the members of the committee rejected the proposal. We squashed it. What did he [Paredes] say? I am a bit out of my mind. Out of his mind? He harbored rightist ideas—that was what was on his mind! Everything was settled there and then. I think it was at that moment that I became secretary of organization, a very important post within the party. We were about to implement the appropriate line. The only missing part was the approval of the organizational documents of the party, the front, and the armed force approved. We only needed that.

"What did I do? I submitted a document. It includes many points in which all my plans are discussed at length, from logistics to economics... War is expensive, but it is not fitting that we should get mixed up with money, money, money...

"What was the outcome? A congress in Albania. Who was going? It was a very important congress. The whole Communist world was going to be present. And yet, none of us could go—force majeure. So, they had to find someone. You can guess who. I was under no obligation to go. But there are always reasons. So, I went. Before leaving, however, we all agreed that we were going to convene the 20th general meeting (of the PCP Central Committee), in January 1968. Everything was ready. There were not enough people. Albania was a great experience. I had the opportunity to meet outstanding leaders. It was a wonderful experience... I did my utmost to return home. I was invited to go to China. I was told: You must take advantage of the fact that you are here to stopover in China. I did not go. Why did I return? When I got back I found that the 20th general meeting had been called off. It was obviously a move orchestrated by Saturnino Paredes...

"Several groups walked out. There were four factions: journalists, the Red Fatherland, the so-called Bolsheviks, and the faction. There wasn't just one line of thought...

"We met in January. An ill-fated meeting. Ridiculous police plans to attack the meeting were discovered. The Red Fatherland thus walked out. They went their own way...

"I evaluated the party situation: Revisionism continued and we could make no progress unless it was wiped out. Another alternative was to promote internal fighting within revolutionary practices...

"All this led me to a confrontation with Paredes. It was a nasty confrontation. He went abroad. Since I was in charge of organization, I had to replace him. Yet, what was the plan? To deploy his henchmen to break the party, denying the party leadership. We had to strive to impose our authority. That gentleman (Paredes) stayed abroad for several months so that he would not cause problems for me. He was "murdered." This was another justification for denying the party leadership.

"The miserable person who did the job reported it with documents, identifying that this person works in this place, giving his name and surname. Only the electoral card was missing. Yet we managed to keep control.

"There are leaders who during a storm do not fall to the ground—as Stalin put it—and leave the ship; instead, they grab the rudder and determinedly face the storm.

"The gentleman returned, claiming that he had been sick. Why didn't he come earlier? There were major problems to be solved, like a meeting he had with the political bureau. He didn't want to meet with the standing committee or the secretariat. We asked him for his opinion on this struggle. We sent him a set of leaflets that his henchmen published all over Peru, especially in Ayacucho. And how long do you need to become acquainted with the problem? This long. Fine. As soon as you are ready.

"I was always told in Albania that there are three revolutions. The frustrated Soviet revolution; the Chinese revolution, which was a partial revolution; and a new revolution, the Albanian revolution. We supported Mao's thoughts. It is something like a society in a halfway position.

"A second alternative was posed. We were begged to send personnel to create a true school. Idiot. Poor man.

First, it was necessary to debate on the three revolutions. Inexperienced man. First, we should see what is going on here. You go to study or you go for a walk. Things make sense when we know that you did not expect to give orders. The other problem was our good comrades. They offered help to us. Here it is, ha, ha, ha, as if we had no problems. Of course we had problems, but they would sell themselves for very little. No. That was the hottest issue.

"Someone knocked at my door one Saturday evening. We had a communications channel, but I was called at night. I have come on behalf of the secretary general with an urgent message. And why didn't he send the message through the regular channel? Because they wanted to deliver the message quickly. We had a direct line, but a messenger was sent instead. What did the message say? It was a summons for tomorrow at 0200. We could not fly. We could not make it because we were 12 sambos [zambos]. We did not like it and we did not report to the meeting. Consequently, we were immediately suspended as a disciplinary action. What was our crime? We did not know how to fly. That is how the problem began. I did not know what was to come. It was a purge by an imperial power. It was logical to know this.

"We summoned the central committee and met in February 1968, when we formed our group, a separate party. We held a major meeting and formed the party cadres. That was the party apparatus, the rest was a facade. It was already a facade at that time. We were 50 all over Peru; we were all fully and totally engaged.

"There are plenty of people. All parties are like this, including the Bolshevik Party. Not just a few people, but—as the president put it—do you want it or not.

Abimael Guzman, the self-styled "President Gonzalo," talked with his captors during the 15 days he was held by the Dincote after his arrest on 12 September 1992.

There was special interest in the talks held on 15 September - the anniversary of the former Investigative Police Department—and on 17-18 September. This was reported by the Spanish newspaper EL PAIS and by the U.S. magazine TIME.

Seated at a table, this leader of the terrorist organization that has claimed the most casualties in the country, talked and laughed coolly with his "enemies." He even asked for "a cigarette" from time to time.

The main points addressed during the talks were:

- Tarata: The police asked him about the car-bomb planted in Tarata, Miraflores, in July 1992 which killed many people and left many others homeless. Guzman replied that the target of the attack was a major Peruvian financial agency.

- The death of Nora: The questioning on this issue took 45 minutes. He was asked why in the video confiscated at the Monterico house he is seen repeating time and again the phrase "this damned staircase" while standing by the body of his wife Augusta La Torre, alias Nora, a top leader of the terrorist organization. The police also tried to find out whether Nora committed suicide because of disagreements within the party, or whether she was killed. They also wanted to learn whether there was an investigative commission, and who were the members. Guzman said that "Juana," Nila Zanabria (deceased), and other members of the Central Committee did not agree with "the official report released by the party." He was finally told that it would be better for him to tell where La Torre was buried in order to clarify all doubts.

Guzman ironically replied to these questions: "You think I know everything, but I do not." Replying to where was Nora buried, he said: "I do not remember." He always resorts to these answers when he wants to evade a question. He stated that despite ideological disagreements they lived together. As for "this damned staircase," Guzman said: "This is a phrase used by SI magazine."

- The United States: Guzman referred to this issue, sometimes in an incoherent manner and with lack of rationality. He emphasized that the Shining Path became a major issue and "a matter of national security" for the United States. He based this on statements by Malvyn Levitsky in Congress and by Bernard Aronson. Guzman added that the United States is more worried about the Shining Path than it is about drug trafficking.

- Guzman's arrest: He tried to downplay this all the time. He said that "the party must be reorganized," adding that this does not mean progress has not been made toward reaching a strategic balance. He mentioned the civic action works carried out by the Army in the shanty towns.

- Splits within the Shining Path: He rejected this rumor. He mentioned the disagreements and the consensus reached in 1980, which led to the popular struggle. The police showed him evidence on the struggles and possible splits within the Shining Path. Guzman rejected them but did not provide solid arguments.

- Gonzaloism: He denied the existence of Gonzaloism, as another alternative or a top stage after Maoism and Marxism-Leninism. He also laughed at those who say that the personality cult is promoted within the Shining Path. But once again he was really not very convincing.